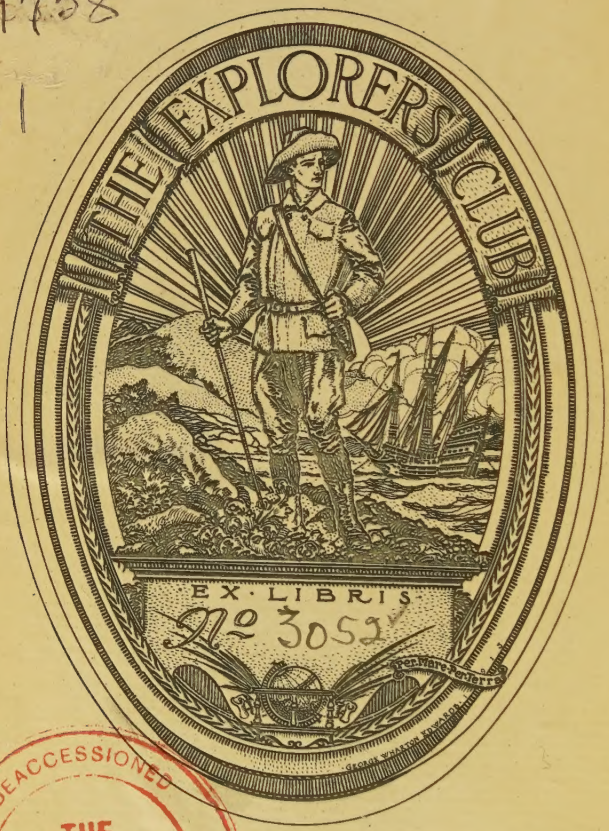
910.8
V9758
v.1

v.1



DEACCESSIONED
THE EXPLORERS CLUB
DEACCESSIONED

PRESENTED BY
James B. Ford

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/voyagestravels0001char

EXPLORERS
JAMES B. FORD
LIBRARY

AN ENGLISH GARNER

VOYAGES AND TRAVELS

mainly during the 16th and 17th Centuries

VOL. I

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, F.R.G.S.

FELLOW OF MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD

Author of *The Dawn of Modern Geography*

NEW YORK

E. P. DUTTON AND CO.

PUBLISHERS' NOTE

THE texts contained in the present volume are reprinted with very slight alterations from the *English Garner* issued in eight volumes (1877-1890, London, 8vo) by Professor Arber, whose name is sufficient guarantee for the accurate collation of the texts with the rare originals, the old spelling being in most cases carefully modernised. The contents of the original *Garner* have been rearranged and now for the first time classified, under the general editorial supervision of Mr. Thomas Seccombe. Certain lacunae have been filled by the interpolation of fresh matter. The Introductions are wholly new and have been written specially for this issue.

Edinburgh: Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE.

3052

CONTENTS TO VOLUME I

PAGE

1. Captain Roger Bodenham's Voyage to Scio in 1551. [From Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 1599-1600], . . . 1

2. Robert Tomson, of Andover, Merchant: his Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, 1556-58. [From Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, 1589], ... 7

3. Master Roger Bodenham: his Trip to Mexico, 1564-65. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 25

4. Sir John Hawkins' First Voyage to the West Indies, October 1562—September 1563. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], . 29

5. Sir John Hawkins' Second Voyage to the West Indies, 18th October 1564—20th September 1565. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 31

6. The Third Voyage of Sir John Hawkins, 1567-68, . . . 81

   i. Earliest Tidings of the Disaster in England. [From the State Papers; Domestic; Elizabeth, vol. 48, no. 50; vol. 49, no. 37; vol. 49, no. 36; vol. 49, no. 42], ... 83

   ii. A true declaration of the troublesome Voyage of John Hawkins to Guinea and the West Indies in 1567-68. [Printed at London, 1569], . . 91

   iii. Depositions in the English Admiralty Court as to the Fight at San Juan de Ulua. [From the State Papers; Domestic; Elizabeth; July 1569, vol. 53], ... 104

PAGE

7. Hawkins' pretended treachery in the summer of 1571. [From State Papers; Scotland; Mary Queen of Scots, vol. 6, no. 61], ... 127

8. Jasper Campion: The English Trade to Scio, 1539-70. [From the Hakluyt of 1599-1600], ... 131

9. Anthony Munday: Captivity of John Fox. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 139

10. Thomas Stevens, an English Jesuit; his Voyage to India by the Cape Route. [From the Hakluyt of 1589; reprinting a letter from Goa, 1579], ... 152

11. The Third Hawkins' Voyage, 1567-68; three narratives by survivors, ... 161

i. David Ingram's relation, of 1582, August—September. [From the Hakluyt of 1589; in Sloane MSS., 1447], ... 161

ii. Miles Phillips' Discourse, of 1583 [?]. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 173

iii. Job Hortop's Travels. [From the Hakluyt of 1599-1600; originally printed in 1591], . . . 219

12. Thomas Sanders: The Unfortunate Voyage of the *Jesus* to Tripoli, in 1584. [From the Hakluyt of 1589 and the original publication of 1587, March 31], ... 243

13. John Chilton: Travels in Mexico, 1568-85. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 263

14. The Voyage of Thomas Cavendish round about the Globe, 1586-88. [From the Hakluyt of 1589], ... 281

15. The first Englishmen who reached India overland, 1583-89 [From the Hakluyt of 1599-1600, Linschoten's *Discourse of Voyages*, 1598, etc.], ... 295

INTRODUCTION TO VOLUME I

THE following collection of voyages and travels, mainly of Elizabethan Englishmen, is the reappearance of an old friend, or rather of many old friends. As distributed throughout the volumes of 'Arber's *Garner*,' these narratives have long been consulted by students of the Tudor and Stuart periods: they are now separated from the matter relating to other subjects in Prof. Arber's great compilation, and arranged as nearly as possible in strict chronological order. The greater number, amounting to a little less than half the present body of text, are reprinted (with occasional compression) from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, either from the first edition of 1589 (so constantly superior in clearness of arrangement and judgment of selection to any later stage of that memorable work), or else from the bulkier edition of 1599-1600, the final Hakluyt of the compiler's own life and labour. But besides these Hakluytian pieces, the present volumes contain the interesting and not easily accessible correspondence between William Hawkins and Sir William Cecil of December 1568 and January 1569, relative to the disaster of 'San Juan d'Ulloa' (pp. 83-90), and the still more important depositions of March 1569 in the English Admiralty Court as to the aforesaid disaster, the guilt of the Spanish assailants of Sir John Hawkins, and the losses sustained by his fleet on that occasion (see vol. i. pp. 104-26). Here is also reprinted the correspondence necessary to give a summary view of John Hawkins' pre-

tended intrigue with Spain in the summer of 1571 (vol. i. pp. 127-30).

It is in the second volume, however, that we find the gems of the present collection—an abridgment of the first part of Linschoten's *Itinerario, Sir Francis Drake revived*, and *The Captivity of Robert Knox*; the first (pp. 1-126 of vol. ii. and pp. 321-30 of vol. i.) being from the standard old English version of the Dutch text made in 1598; the second (pp. 220-94) from the very rare edition of 1626; and the third (pp. 295-429) from the original text of 1681. All three are narratives of first-class value, not too easy to procure, and as interesting as they are valuable.

Of lesser importance, but even by themselves giving reason sufficient for the present issue, are such tracts as Edward Wright's *Voyage of the Earl of Cumberland* (1589), *The 'Dolphin's' Sea-Fight against Five Turkish Men of War* (1616-7), and *The Captivity of Richard Hasleton* (1582-92; see vol. ii. pp. 186-212; 213-20; 151-80).

Professor Arber's businesslike and suggestive notes have usually been retained, and with these and the help of this Introduction it is hoped that students of the great age of discovery may find some use in a series of narratives so vivid in style, so photographic in their character-sketches, so admirably characteristic of the men and the times to which they refer.

Of the first three tracts in volume i. (pp. 1-28)—Roger Bodenham's *Voyage to Scio* in 1551, Tomson's *Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico* in 1555-8, and Roger Bodenham's *Journey to Mexico* in 1564-5—it is not necessary to say much. The first is from the final edition of Hakluyt (*Principal Navigations*) of 1599-1600, the second and third from Hakluyt's first edition of 1589. It is noteworthy that

Robert Tomson, in 1555, found English traders, servants of two City Merchants, engaged in commerce in Grand Canary; and that in the town of Mexico itself he arrived only to find himself anticipated by a Scotsman. This pioneer, one Thomas Blake, had been there over twenty years (in 1556), and must therefore have appeared in that remote Spanish possession before 1536, or less than fifteen years after Cortes' conquest (1521). Richard Chancellor, 'who first discovered Russia,' was with Bodenham in the voyage to Scio: it may perhaps be noted that the real discoverer of Russia to Western Europe was the Imperial envoy Sigismund von Herberstein, who in 1517 and 1526 (more than thirty years before Chancellor) visited Moscow, and compiled the most valuable of all early descriptions of Muscovy. The voyage of Chancellor and Willoughby in 1553 was really in search of the north-east passage to Cathay; in the course of this unsuccessful venture Chancellor and his men found their way to the White Sea, the Dvina, and the court of Ivan the Terrible; thus opening Russia to English and Western European trade by a new and direct route, and outflanking the obstructive monopoly of the Hanse traders of the Baltic.

Next comes the series of John Hawkins' voyages (1562-8) to the West Indies; and here it will be necessary to say rather more by way of preface (see vol. i. pp. 29-130, 161-242). The narrative of the first Hawkins voyage hereafter printed is from the Hakluyt of 1589, *First Voyage of Sir John Hawkins, . . . made to the West Indies* 1562. John Hawkins, younger son of William Hawkins, the Brazil trader of 1530, seems to have been born in or about 1532, though the traditional date is 1520. According to Hakluyt, it was by divers voyages to the Canaries that John had

'informed himself by diligent inquisition of the State of the West India (whereof he had received knowledge by the instructions of his father, but increased the same by the advertisements and reports of that people). And being amongst other particulars assured that Negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola, and that store of Negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea, [he] resolved with himself to make trial thereof.' These voyages of John's to the Canaries were probably subsequent to 1555, the year of old William's death, and they soon brought such profit, that shortly after the accession of Elizabeth the future sea-king married a daughter of Benjamin Gonson, Treasurer of the Royal Navy. Already, in 1553, the English had begun to struggle for a share of the Guinea trade; and in 1561 Gonson had joined in a syndicate whose aim was to establish a factory at Benin or some other point in the Guinea littoral, in defiance of Portuguese opposition.[1] The enterprise failed, but in 1562 it was renewed, while Hawkins prepared for a still more daring venture—no less than the commercial invasion of the Spanish American monopoly by means of the African, or more particularly the Guinea, slave trade. As to this commerce, it had been practised by the Portuguese continually since 1441, when Antam Gonsalves brought home certain *Mouros negros* from the neighbourhood of Cape Bojador.[2] In 1517 Charles V. formally licensed the importation of African negroes into the West Indies. The trade was supported by philanthropic arguments, as by the generous Las Casas, who (for a time) saw in it the

[1] The Queen, as Mr. Corbett well suggests (*Drake*, i. 78), was possibly a shareholder in this venture: the *Minion* was certainly lent to the venturers from the Royal Navy.

[2] Cf. Azurara, *Chronicle of the Discovery and Conquest of Guinea*, chs. xii.-xiv.

only means of preserving the weaker American Indians from extinction. Las Casas changed his view before his death; but he had at least the satisfaction of stopping many abuses, and imposing a certain responsibility on the traders. No one was now permitted to take part in the commerce without a royal licence, only granted at a high price; a duty was also imposed on every slave that entered the West Indies from Guinea.

In 1551, 17,000 licences for slave-importation from Africa to the West Indies were offered for sale by the Spanish Government. In 1553 Fernando Ochoa obtained a monopoly of the slave trade for seven years, during which he bound himself to import 23,000 negroes. Two years after the expiry of Ochoa's term Hawkins entered the field with a bold attempt to break through the monopoly altogether.

No English fleet had yet ventured into the Spanish sphere, though from the days of William Hawkins and his Brazil voyage of 1530 our countrymen had been attempting to break into the *mare clausum* of the weaker Portuguese. The Spanish name was too imposing, the trade with the European ports of the Spanish Empire,—in the Peninsula, in the Netherlands, and in Italy—was too precious an asset of our early trade to be lightly affronted or endangered.

John Hawkins, therefore, when he proposed a venture, which to any prudent man foreshadowed inevitable trouble with Spain, found but a few inclined to back his venture. The chief of these were Alderman Lionel Ducket, an enterprising Father of London City, and Thomas Lodge (afterwards Sir Thomas), a Governor of the Muscovy Company, which, since the Russian voyage of Chancellor

and Willoughby in 1553, had won a very prominent position in English trade-expansion. Three 'private' ships, the largest of 120 tons, were fitted out, and with this little squadron and a cargo of English goods Hawkins set out in October 1562. With this voyage opened the great commercial (and so political) struggle that ended with the downfall of Spanish oceanic power. Deeper even than religious hatred, we may find the prime cause of the long and bitter war of Elizabethan England against Spain lies in the trade rivalry for the Western world and in the aggressive mercantile policy of the English people.

At Teneriffe Hawkins had formed a trade-alliance with one Pedro de Ponte, an ambitious and not too patriotic merchant, who was shrewdly suspected of having suggested the whole project of the West Indian trade to the English, and at his hands the adventurers received their prime necessity, a pilot for Spanish America. On the Guinea coast the 'interlopers' kidnapped about three hundred slaves who were sold at a very large profit in various ports of Hispaniola, Hayti, or San Domingo. Hawkins chartered two extra vessels to transport the surplus of his gains to Europe, and with an almost incredible assurance, professedly relying on the old commercial treaties (of 1495, 1499, etc.) between England and Burgundy, sent these ships to be sold at Cadiz in charge of Captain Hampton, his second in command (1563). They were promptly confiscated, and a long-standing implicit prohibition was now made sufficiently explicit. The Spanish colonies of the New World were forbidden absolutely and without exception to trade with the English in any way.

Hawkins' second voyage (1564-5) was supported by a far more powerful syndicate than the first. Among the

shareholders[1] of the capital appears to have been the Queen, who lent the expedition its flagship or 'admiral,' the *Jesus of Lubeck*, a vessel of 700 tons, which had been bought for the English navy by Henry VIII. from the Hanse traders of Lubeck. Elizabeth's stake in the venture may be judged from the fact that the *Jesus* was valued at £4000 (perhaps £30,000–£40,000 of our money). The Earl of Pembroke was another shareholder, and efforts were made, though in vain, to induce Cecil (Burleigh) to join. Nothing in the nature of illicit commerce or piracy attracted the conservative leader of English statesmen; but he took no steps, as on certain subsequent occasions, to nip in the bud a possible buccaneering outgrowth of legitimate trade.

Again Hawkins made for Teneriffe and his friend, Pedro de Ponte; again he provided himself with the needful information in the very house of his rivals; again he prospected successfully for slaves on the Guinea coast[2] (going every day on shore to hunt his negroes, 'with burning and spoiling of their towns'); again he crossed to the West Indies, but not this time to Hispaniola. Well aware of King Philip's prohibition and of the certainty that in the great colonial centre of San Domingo, if anywhere, no smuggling would be allowed, he tried his luck in the

[1] The usual practice, as Mr. Corbett explains (*Drake*, i. 82), was for a small group of capitalists (commonly about five) to 'underwrite' or become responsible for definite portions of the required capital, which they placed among their friends. Only the names of the original underwriters, who were directors of the company, usually appeared; among their backers were often to be found the leading people in the State, the Queen, the Earl of Pembroke, etc. On the *Jesus*, cf. *State Papers*, *Domestic*, xxxvii. 61; Oct. 23, 1565.

[2] Just at the same time the Garrard Company's fleet, with the *Minion* as flag-ship, sailed for Guinea and was discomfited off La Mina. Hawkins was much aggrieved at the information given by the *Minion's* people to certain negro tribes near Cape Verde, 'of nature very gentle and loving,' whom he was attempting to kidnap.

ports of the 'Spanish Main' or Tierra Firma, the continental province whose coast stretched from the Orinoco to the Isthmus of Panama.

The harbour of 'Burboroata,' Burburata or Borburata, where he began operations, is the 'Burborough water' of later English seamen, in the Golfo Triste on the Venezuela coast, now marked out by a deserted creek or *ensenada*, some five leagues east of the present Puerto Cabello.[1] Here, as at Curaçao and Rio de la Hacha, the cheerful insolence of the English captain 'forcing to friendly commerce' proved completely successful; the 'lean and sick negroes' were sold at good profit (60 per cent.); and on his way home Hawkins was able to succour the distressed Huguenot colony of Laudonnière in Florida. The reason of their misfortune was clear to the Englishmen: the French settlers had no labourers, but being soldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other men's brows: one of their chief comforts was 'tabacco,' by the great virtue whereof they could satisfy their hunger for four or five days without meat or drink.

Not only was gold and silver plentiful in Florida, Hawkins reported, but unicorns and other useful commodities might be found there; to settle and colonise this country would be an attempt requisite for a prince of power; the increase from cattle alone, without counting the precious metals, would bring profit sufficient (pp. 73-79). So keenly were the eyes of English pioneers already fixed upon the Western world as a field for colonising energy.[2]

[1] Corbett, *Drake*, i. 84; Blaeu, *Atlas Major*, 1652, vol. ii. f. 89.

[2] The narrative of the second Hawkins voyage, hereafter printed, is from the Hakluyt of 1589, written by one John Sparke, a gentleman adventurer who accompanied Hawkins.

After Hawkins' second return, a new Spanish ambassador, Don Diego Guzman De Silva, came to England, and to his watchful energy was largely due that greater alertness of the Spanish authorities which ruined the third venture of the interlopers (1567-8). In 1565-6 Francis Drake seems to have sailed to the Spanish Main with one Captain Lovell, and to have been roughly handled at Rio de la Hacha, a not wholly unnatural retaliation for *Achines'* behaviour there a few months before;[1] but De Silva's diplomacy prevented Hawkins from breaking loose again till 1567. Then at last, after many a check and double, the Adventurers got clear away. Backed by a syndicate, at the head of which were Alderman Lionel Ducket and Sir William Garrard, and to which the Queen appears to have lent her support (as a shareholder) even more generously than before, the English captain slipped off from Plymouth on October 2, 1567, with a fleet of six vessels, two of them from the royal navy. These were the *Jesus of Lubeck* (700 tons; 180 men in crew; 22 heavy and 42 lighter guns) and the *Minion* (350 tons): the private barks were the *William and John* of 150 tons, the *Swallow* of 100, the *Judith* of 50, and the *Angel* of 32. Francis Drake sailed as captain and master of the *Judith*, being then, according to Stow, twenty-two years of age. The squadron had an 'Admiral,' 'Vice-Admiral,' 'General,' and 'Captain of Soldiers,' the complete naval equipment, and carried a force of between 600 and 700 men, in De Silva's opinion. Hawkins' Syndicate had subscribed sums equal to £16,000 of modern money to the expedition: Hawkins' own property on the *Jesus of Lubeck*

[1] In the same year Fenner of Chichester, who had intended sailing to the West Indies with Hawkins, was obliged to content himself with a Guinea voyage, in which he exchanged some hard knocks with the Portuguese.

was estimated at between £3000 and £4000 in modern value.[1] In reading the various narratives referring to this voyage, we cannot help noticing how constantly Hawkins' own (official) account requires supplementing from the narratives of the Englishmen who landed on the Mexico coast, and after so many trials escaped to England. David Ingram, Job Hartop, and Miles Phillips[2] were the survivors of a hundred of Hawkins' seamen who volunteered to go ashore from the overcrowded *Minion* (rescued with such

[1] As to the authorities for the third Hawkins voyage:—Hawkins' own account of the voyage of 1567-8 (afterwards reprinted by Hakluyt; see vol. i. pp. 91-103) was originally printed in 1569 under the title *A true declaration of the troublesome voyage of Mr. John Hawkins to the parts of Guinea and the West Indies in the years . . . 1567 and 1568.* Miles Phillips, who returned from captivity in 1583, compiled his narrative with the assistance of Hawkins' report.

The affidavits as to the losses at San Juan de Ulua (printed in vol. i. pp. 104-26) are from a manuscript volume in the Public Record Office (*S. P. Dom., Eliz.* liii.)—*Sir John Hawkins' Voyage*, 1569 (July 2). Of the eleven depositions, only Hawkins' own is here printed in full. This, of course, was the English Government's official statement of its case. The Spanish Government's has been lately rediscovered by Captain Fernandez Duro from the *Coleccion Navarrete*, and a version of it is given in Corbett, *Drake*, i. 417-20. It was originally sent by Philip II. to Alva with orders to forward it to the Spanish Ambassador in London (cf. *Spanish Calendar*, 1568-79, p. 110; Feb. 18, 1569): but Alva advised and procured its suppression. Besides these, there is Herrera's account of the action at San Juan, in his *Historia General*, Part I. book xv. chap. 18; a letter from Hawkins to Cecil written from the *Minion*, on his return to England, the same day as his arrival at Plymouth; and the narratives of Ingram, Phillips, and Hartop.

Drake was considered by Hawkins to have deserted after the San Juan disaster. 'So with the . . . *Judith*, a small bark . . .' (says John) 'we escaped; which bark the same night forsook us in our great misery.' (See vol. i. p. 101.) This was long remembered against him: even in 1587 Admiral Borough retorts upon the great captain with the charge, so much exaggerated by Herrera, so discreetly softened away by Miles Phillips ('the same night the said bark *lost* us': see vol. i. p. 183.)

[2] For David Ingram, see vol. i. pp. 161-72 (reprinted from the Hakluyt of 1589, p. 557); for Miles Phillips, see vol. i. pp. 173-218 (from the Hakluyt of 1589, or 1599-1600, pp. 469-87); for Job Hartop, see vol. i. pp. 219-42 (from the Hakluyt of 1599-1600, vol. iii. pp. 487-495; first printed as a separate tract in 1591).

difficulty from the catastrophe at San Juan), in order to save the remaining hundred; and the stories of these three survivors are given in vol. i. pp. 161-242. Ingram's record,[1] the most fabulous but fortunately the shortest of the three, was omitted from Hakluyt's final edition of 1599-1600—although in some points 'this Examinate's' testimony is certainly worth preserving—'the reward of lying,' as Purchas complains, 'being not to be believed in truths' (*Pilgrimes*, vol iv. p. 1179, ed. of 1625; book vi. ch. 4).

It is from Hartop, a gunner of the *Jesus*, not from Hawkins himself, that we learn of the reprisals undertaken by the English squadron against the Portuguese, during the first stage of the voyage, off West Africa. Hartop also is the only one who tells us how, at Margarita island in the West Indies, 'our general, in despite of the Spaniards, landed and took in fresh victuals'; how at Placentia the bishop [and people] 'hearing of our coming for fear forsook the town'; how at Rio de la Hacha Drake cut out, ran ashore, and seized as prize a Spanish 'caravel of advice,' or official despatch boat, from the Viceroy at San Domingo. Speaking in 1591, Hartop had no motive to conceal anything.

As to Hawkins' tempest-tost career in the Gulf of Mexico and the harbour of San Juan de Ulua ('Ulloa'), an interesting and valuable commentary on the Hawkins narratives may be found in Robert Tomson's account of his journey in 1555-58,[2] and in John Chilton's *Travels*

[1] It must be very seriously doubted whether David Ingram ever made such an extensive journey in the interior of North America as he claims—from the Gulf of Mexico to within fifty leagues or thereabouts of Cape Breton.

[2] *The Voyage of Robert Tomson, merchant, into Nova Hispania* (1555-8); see vol. i. pp. 7-23; for Chilton's *Travels*, see pp. 265-80. Both these are from the Hakluyt of 1589.

in Mexico between 1568 and 1585, also printed in this collection.

In reading the account of the naval action at San Juan it may also be noted that the English ships carried a far heavier artillery than the Spaniards. Thus the *Jesus* 'could throw 250 lbs.'[1] from her twenty-two heavy guns alone without counting the discharge of her forty-two lighter pieces. Had the English not lost command of the eleven guns they had mounted on the island, they would probably have won. Until the undisputed possession of this islet had been granted—in words at least—to his force, Hawkins, though professing himself so 'orderly' and a 'hater of folly' (otherwise piracy), forbade the Viceroy of Mexico entrance to his own chief port. 'If he be Viceroy, I represent my Queen's person, and I am Viceroy as well as he.' After this perhaps a struggle to the death was only to be expected, though not such an 'affair of foxes' as the treacherous indignation of Martin Enrinquez and Francisco de Luxan[2] contrived. It was a terrible revenge for such incidents as the trading at Rio de la Hacha in 1565, when Hawkins gave his unwilling customers the choice of 'granting him a market' or 'else to stand to their own harms,' when the Spanish prices were raised by the 'breakfast' salutation of a volley of ordnance and a landing-party, and when accounts were settled under the superintendence of three English boats 'with bells in their noses and men with weapons accordingly.'

The pretended intrigue of John Hawkins with the

[1] Cf. Corbett, *Drake*, i. 114 n.

[2] Cf. Pedro de Santillana's poem of 1570 on De Luxan's victory over Hawkins, the poet's 'Juan Acle' (cf. Duro, *Armada invencible*, ii. 490-501).

Spanish Government (vol. i. pp. 127-30) is famous not only for itself, but for Lingard's self-deception in the matter. The whole was of course undertaken by 'Ackins,' partly to feather his own nest, partly to rescue from captivity some of his unfortunate men, marooned in the Gulf of Mexico and now in Spanish prisons. The English Council of State, so far from being 'suspicious,' were cognisant of the whole throughout.

Jasper Campion's *Discourse of the trade to Scio, written the 14th Feb.* 1569 [1570] *to Michael Lock and William Winter*,[1] is a summary history of English commerce in the Greek Archipelago during the middle of the sixteenth century, from 1539 to 1570, and itself forms a part of the history of our commerce in the Mediterranean. This trade was prosecuted with great energy under the Tudors—above all, under Elizabeth herself—and Hakluyt gives a surprising number of documents relative to the same. Like Francis I. of France, Elizabeth cultivated friendly, and especially commercial, relations with the chief Mohammedan states, notably the Ottoman Sultan and the 'Emperor' of Morocco. By its subject-matter it is connected with the narratives of Munday and Sanders, immediately following, and with that of Roger Bodenham at the beginning of this volume (see pp. 1-5, 131-8, 139-151, 243-61).

Anthony Munday [A. M.]'s account[2] of the Captivity of John Fox of Woodridge, gunner of the *Three Half Moons*, and of his escape from Alexandria, in which two hundred and sixty-six Christian prisoners of the Turk also participated (Jan. 3, 1577), is one of the most interesting

[1] Reprinted from the Hakluyt of 1599 (final edition).
[2] Reprinted from the Hakluyt of 1589.

narratives in Hakluyt, and remarkable as causing a momentary softening of bitterness between Catholic and Protestant: the Prior and Fathers of the Dominican Convent of Gallipoli, the Pope, and the King of Spain, all exerted themselves on Fox's behalf; he was granted a licence to beg through the cities and towns of Spain; and Philip II. made him a gunner in the Valencia fleet of galleys.

Thomas Sanders's report of the unfortunate voyage of the *Jesus* to Tripoli in 1584 was first printed as a separate tract on March 31, 1587 (see p. 243 of vol. i.); two years later it was reprinted by Hakluyt in the first edition of his *Principal Navigations* (1589).

From the Mediterranean, Elizabethan traders essayed to push on by overland routes to India, just as others were even now trying to reach the same goal by the long sea route round Africa; and the narratives of Bodenham and Campion, Munday and Sanders, find their continuation in those of Eldred, Newberie, and Fitch, which trace the progress of the English pioneers to the south-east, from the ports of Syria and Egypt to the Persian Gulf, Ormuz, Malabar, and even Bengal and Pegu (pp. 295-324 of this volume).

Thomas Stevens, the English Jesuit who afterwards did so much for the release of Newberie and Fitch, when arrested in Portuguese India, had the same objective as they, but sought it by a different, longer, slightly speedier, and infinitely less obstructible route. He was the first Englishman known to Hakluyt as having reached the Indian mainland by the Cape of Good Hope; and his letter[1] of 1579 (see vol. i. pp. 152-9) from Goa to his father and namesake is a premonition of such future developments

[1] Reprinted from the Hakluyt of 1589.

as the London East Indian Company. Stevens was a native of Wiltshire, who started for the East from Lisbon on April 4, 1479, with the usual trumpets and 'shooting of ordnance,' 'all in the manner of war,' as the Portuguese were wont to set out for India. His description of the maritime routes inside and outside Madagascar (St. Lawrence Island) was the most valuable part of his narrative for English traders, statesmen, and explorers; for the rest the *Letter* is much more explicit on the birds and fish of the Southern Seas than on people, products, or markets. The good Jesuit in fact was a born naturalist. He has a little to say about the Moors and Caffres of Ethiopia and the inhabitants of Goa 'tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses' like the former: yet on the whole it is for descriptions of the albatross, the shark, the pilot-fish, the sucker, and the Medusa that the modern reader will value this report.

John Chilton's notable discourse[1] (see vol. i. pp. 263-80) concerning the memorable things of the West Indies, seen and noted by himself during seventeen years of travel in Mexico and the Islands of the Carribean Sea, is perhaps the most valuable Elizabethan English account of these regions. It refers to the third Hawkins voyage of 1567-8, and to Drake's voyage round the world of 1577-80, when the great freebooter touched at Acapulco on the Pacific coast of Mexico (see pp. 268-9); but it has no direct connection with either of these expeditions. Its picture of Spanish government in New Spain and of the distribution of garrisons, its account of the trade regulations between the colony and the mother-country, and its emphatic statement of the discontent of the settlers and their eagerness for greater freedom of commerce, are all worthy of notice.

[1] Reprinted from the Hakluyt of 1589.

Thomas Cavendish or Candish was the only Englishman of the Elizabethan time who successfully followed Drake upon the path of Magellan, the circumnavigation of the world. He started on July 21, 1586, upon his 'admirable and prosperous journey into the South Sea, and thence round about the whole earth,' and returned on September 9, 1588, just after the 'overthrowing of the Spanish fleet,' but this second English encircling of the globe was for the most part a less eventful repetition of the first (see vol. i. pp. 281-94).[1] Cavendish was born in or about 1556, and belonged to the Suffolk Cavendishes of Trimley St. Martin, near Ipswich. Having squandered his property in 'following the Court' and leading the life of a gallant, he became a pirate to mend his fortune. His first naval venture was in Sir Richard Grenville's expedition for the planting of the abortive Virginia Colony of 1585. He then followed Grenville in a voyage of plunder and adventure in the Atlantic.

On his return to England, Cavendish promptly set about the organisation of a new expedition, this time for 'the South Sea and round about the globe.' The fullest narrative of the voyage of 1586-8 is that of Francis Pretty, given in the final edition of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (vol. iii. pp. 803-25). To the account hereafter printed we may add the following details. The Spanish settlements in Magellan's Straits visited and described by the English on this venture were relics of the great expedition of twenty-three sail which had been sent out from Seville in September 1581, as a direct consequent of Drake's passage into the Pacific, and as a measure for preventing any similar aggression by the south-west. The Armada was under Diego

[1] Reprinted from the Hakluyt of 1589.

Flores de Valdez as Admiral; Pedro Sarmiento, one of Spain's truest heroes, was governor-designate of the intended colony. Storms played havoc with the fleet; only sixteen vessels finally got off to Rio Janeiro; and a start was not made from Brazil until November 1582. De Valdez and Sarmiento, after many bickerings, now finally quarrelled and parted, De Valdez returning to Rio, where he picked up four reinforcement ships that had been sent from Spain with supplies for the colonists, and with their help made his way home again. Sarmiento, driven back once and again by stress of weather, at last made a successful start from the Brazil coast on December 2, 1583, with five ships and five hundred and thirty persons, reached Magellan's Straits on February 1, 1584, and in spite of desertions planted four hundred men and thirty women in two settlements—Nombre de Jesus and San Felipe (miscalled *King* Philip's town by the Cavendish narratives). After Sarmiento's departure the colony went rapidly to ruin. 'Their whole living for a great space' (so the English thought when they lighted upon the twenty-two survivors[1] on January 9, 1587) had been mussels and limpets, eked out by an occasional bit of venison from deer that came down 'out of the mountains to the fresh rivers to drink.'

During the two years they had been there, 'they could never have anything to grow or in any wise prosper.' The Indians also often 'preyed upon them,' and 'victuals grew short, so that they died like dogs in their houses and in their clothes, wherein we found them still at our coming.' The town of San Felipe was so 'wonderfully tainted with the smell and savour of the dead,' that the survivors forsook it and made what living they could, rambling along the shore, from roots, leaves, and any fowl they might kill.

[1] The number is also given as twenty-three or twenty-four.

From among these outcasts Cavendish secured one prisoner, Tomé Hernandez, who succeeded in escaping (March 30, 1587) near Valparaiso, 'notwithstanding all his deep and damnable oaths that he would die on their side before he would be false.' The same man also planned an ambuscade on the next day, in which twelve of the English were cut off. At Guatulco or Aguatulco (Acapulco; see vol. i. p. 287), Cavendish is said to have burnt a church and a great wooden cross, which some zealots believed St. Andrew had planted there when he preached the faith to the Mexican Aztees—a distant mission, unrecorded until the discovery of America started a fresh growth of Apostolic legends. Cavendish smeared the cross with pitch and heaped dry reeds around it; for three days the fire burnt, but at the end the holy sign was still scatheless.

After the capture[1] of the treasure-galleon *Santa Anna*, the division of the spoil offended the crew of the *Content*, who deserted in the night of the 20th November 1587, close to Port Agua Secura, where the booty had been sorted, appropriated, or destroyed. As the *Hugh Gallant* had been sunk off Puna Island in the Gulf of Guayaquil, after the 'regrettable incident' of the ambuscade at that place (see vol. i. p. 286), Cavendish's fleet was now reduced to one vessel, the *Desire*, his own flagship. The loss of the *Content* (which was never seen again) was especially felt from the fact that her captain, John Brewer, had accompanied Drake round the world, and had been hitherto the chief guide and pilot of the second English circumnavigation. His place, however, was well supplied for some way by a pilot of the

[1] The capture of the *Santa Anna* was greatly helped by the information extracted from some prisoners—a Fleming and three Spaniards whom Cavendish captured off the Chilian coast, and 'tortured for news' of the treasure galleons and other things.

Santa Anna, who took Cavendish as far as Capul in the Philippines (Jan. 15, 1588). Here he tried to communicate with the Spanish Governor of Manilla, and was hanged by his captors for his plot.

By the help of this pilot, Brewer's earlier guiding, and Drake's narratives, Cavendish finished his circuit of the world in five months less than Sir Francis. Like Magellan, he came to blows with the natives of the Ladrones, but apparently rather from a fierce weariness of their mercantile importunity than from anger at their thievishness. During a nine days' stay at Capul the English mariners made observations on the trade, natives, arts, and disposition of the Philippines, which materially stimulated subsequent English voyages to this Archipelago. For here, we were now told, lived men 'of great genius and invention in handicrafts and sciences, every one so expert in his faculty as few Christians are able to go beyond them'; and especially in 'drawing and embroidery upon satin, silk or lawn, either beast, fowl, fish, or worm, for liveliness and perfectness, both in silk, silver, gold, and pearl.' These paragons also promised Cavendish (so Pretty reports) to aid him whenever he should come again to overcome the Spaniards, and paid him a tribute of pigs, poultry, cocoa-nuts, and potatoes. They were skilled in the black art as well as in tattooing, and their intercourse with the devil was of the most pleasant and familiar kind.

Near Manilla the *Desire* chased, but without success, a Spanish vessel which had just put out: only one prisoner was the result of the pursuit, and he was sent on shore with 'commendations' to the Governor and his people, 'willing them to provide good store of gold, for they meant to visit them again within four years.' The rich commerce

that met here from East and South Asia on one side, and from the western littoral of America on the other, moved the admiration of the visitors; and to secure a share in this Philippine wealth, and, if possible, the sole control of it, soon became a prominent ambition of English commerce. The political action of Cavendish here was a complement to that of Drake in Ternate. Hurrying through the unhealthy Moluccas, where his men suffered severely from the 'untemperate' climate, Cavendish made a stay of eleven days in Java (March 5-16). The natives he thought the bravest race in the south-east parts of the globe. Still more opportunely for his political projects, he here fell in with some Portuguese exiles who hoped to win for Don Antonio 'all the Moluccas at command, besides China, Ceylon, and the Philippines,' to say nothing of all the Indians. Here was a bright prospect for the English allies of Don Antonio who might well hope to reap some profit out of a colonial rising against Philip II.

In a rapid passage of two months and three days Cavendish traversed the 'mighty and vast sea' between Java and the main of Africa, observing the 'heavens, stars, and fowls —marks unto seamen'; and almost as rapid was his voyage in eighty-one days from St. Helena (where he repeated his outrages upon the faith he detested, beating down the altar and cross of the church, as Linschoten tells us) to the 'long-wished-for port of Plymouth.'

The narratives of Eldred, Fitch, and Newberie (already referred to) are of much higher importance than seems generally understood (see vol. i. pp. 295-332). They record the first direct intercourse of the English nation, and especially of its merchants, with India (1583-91): they represent to us the essential forward step to which the Central

Asiatic ventures of Anthony Jenkinson, Drake's treaty with the King of Ternate, and the isolated and, so to say, almost accidental journey of Thomas Stevens, were preliminaries: with them begins the British trade-empire in South Asia. And in all our later history there is no process more in evidence than the conversion of commercial into political dominion. With the three above-named went two less-known merchants, Leedes and Storey: all alike were sent out by the joint-boards of the Levant and Muscovy Companies, and acted as accredited envoys from England to the Great Mogul and the Son of Heaven, bearing letters from Elizabeth to Akbar and the Emperor of China. Primarily, however, they were sent out to prospect for English commerce, conveying samples of our goods, especially in cloth and tin, to Aleppo, Bagdad, Ormuz, and the other markets of the Levant, and reporting home first and foremost upon the markets, prices, and trade routes of South-Western and Southern Asia.

It is noteworthy that we find in Newberie's list of nationalities then to be found trading at Goa, not only French, Germans, and Italians, but even Hungarians and Muscovites, among Christian peoples.

Of the whole party only Fitch returned to England to report complete success in the mission for which he had been sent out. Leedes entered the service of the Great Akbar; Storey joined the Church of Rome, and was ordained a priest at Goa; Newberie died in the Punjab on his way home; Eldred seems not to have gone beyond Basrah—Bassora or Bussorah—at the head of the Persian Gulf.

Who ever heard, says Hakluyt, of Englishmen at Goa before? Who ever heard of the Indian trade, in the next

generation, without some reference to the eager competition of England in this traffic? The information given to London merchants by the Newberie-Fitch group of pioneers was undoubtedly one of the main guides to the organised effort of the next decade, culminating in the East India Company of 1600. Among other stimulants we must not forget Linschoten's great work (portions of which are printed in vol. i. pp. 324-30, and vol. ii. pp. 1-126), which give the most detailed account of the East Indies and their trade-routes that had yet been supplied to the Northern peoples of Europe. Nor must it be forgotten that when Drake captured the great 'Portugal Carrack' (the *San Felipe*) in 1587, off St. Michael in the Azores, there were found in the prize papers which revealed many of the most hidden secrets of the East Indian trade, papers to which, before all else, contemporaries ascribed the formation of our East India Company.

C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY.

MERTON COLLEGE, OXFORD,
October 8th, 1902.

NOTE.—On the influence of Fitch and his companions in the overland East India journey of 1583 upon the formation and first measures of the East India Company, some light is thrown by the earliest records of the Company—*e.g.* (1) '2nd Oct. 1600: *Ordered that Mr. Eldred and Mr. Fitch shall in the meeting to-morrow morning confer of the merchandise fit to be provided for the voyage;* (2) 31*st Dec.* 1606*: King James's letters to be obtained to the King of Cambay, the Governors of Aden, etc.; their titles to be inquired of R. Fitch.*'

On Drake's Burburata, cp. also J. Blaeu, *Atlas Novus*, Amsterdam, 1650 (II. ii.), map of *Venezuela cum parte australi Novae Andalusiae* [*Burburate*, here.]

Captain Roger Bodenham.

Voyage to Scio in 1551 A.D.

[Hakluyt's *Voyages*, 1599.]

N the year 1550, the 13th of November, I Roger Bodenham, Captain of the bark *Aucher*, entered the said ship at Gravesend, for my voyage to the islands of Candia and Scio in the Levant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood From thence we departed to Tilbery Hope, and there remained with contrary winds until the 6th of January 1551.

The 6th of January, the master came to Tilbery, and I had provided a skilful pilot to carry over [*past*] Land's End, whose name was Master Wood. With all speed I vailed [*dropped*] down that night ten miles, to take the tide in the morning: which happily I did, and that night came to Dover and there came to an anchor. There I remained until Friday [the 9th]: meeting with the worthy knight Sir Anthony Aucher, owner of the said ship.

The 11th day, we arrived at Plymouth. The 13th in the morning, we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous wind: and the 16th, we had sight of Cape Finisterre on the coast of Spain.

The 30th, we arrived at Cadiz: and there discharged certain merchandize, and took other aboard.

The 20th of February, we departed from Cadiz, and passed the straits of Gibraltar that night; and the 25th we came to the isle of Majorca, and were stayed there five days with contrary winds.

The 1st of March, we had sight of Sardinia, and the 5th of the said month we arrived at Messina in Sicily; and there discharged much goods, remaining there until Good Friday in Lent [27th of March, 1551].

The chief merchant [in London] that laded the said bark

Aucher was a Merchant Stranger called ANSELM SALVAGO; and because the time was then very dangerous, and that there was no going into the Levant—especially to Scio—without a safeconduct from the Turk: the said ANSELM promised the owner Sir ANTHONY AUCHER that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia: and there I was answered that I should send to Scio, and there I should have my safeconduct. I was forced to send one, and he had his answer "that the Turk would give none, willing me to look what was best for me to do:" which was no small trouble to me, considering that I was bound to deliver the goods that were in the ship at Scio or send them at my adventure [*risk*]. The merchants [*supercargoes*], without care of the loss of the ship, would have compelled me to go or send their goods at mine adventure. The which I denied, and said plainly I would not go, because the Turk's galleys were come forth to go against Malta. But by the French king's means, he was persuaded to leave Malta, and to go to Tripoli in Barbary: which by means of the French, he wan.

In this time there were in Candia certain Turkish vessels called *skyrasas*, which had brought wheat thither to sell; and were ready to depart for Turkey. And they departed in the morning betimes; carrying news that I would not go forth. That same night I had prepared beforehand what I thought good, without making any man privy to it until I saw time. Then I had no small business to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Nevertheless I wan them all to go with me, except three which I set on land; and with all diligence I was ready to set forth about eight o'clock at night, being a fair moonshine night, and went out. Then my three mariners made such requests unto the rest of my men to come aboard, that I was constrained to take them in.

So with a good wind we put into the Archipelago, and being among the islands, the wind scanted [*fell away*], and I was forced to anchor at an island called Micone; where I tarried ten or twelve days; having a Greek pilot to carry the ship to Scio. In this mean season, there came many small boats with mysson [*mizen*] sails to go for Scio, with divers goods to sell; and the pilot requested me that I would let them go in my company, to which I yielded.

After the said days were expired, I weighed and set sail for the island of Scio; with which place I fell in in the afternoon: whereupon I cast [*tacked*] to seaward again to come with the island in the morning betimes. The foresaid small vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the shore to get in during the night: but upon a sudden they espied three foists [*light galleys*] of Turks coming upon them to spoil them. My pilot, having a son in one of those small vessels, entreated me to cast about [*wear*] towards them; which at his request I did: and being somewhat far from them, I caused my gunner to shoot a demi-culverin at a foist that was ready to enter one of the boats. This was so happy a shot that it made the Turk to fall astern of the boat and to leave him: by the which means he escaped.

Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my stern until daylight: by which time, I came before the mole of Scio, and sent my boat on land to the merchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand [*immediately*] or else I would return back with all to Candia, and they should fetch their goods from there. But in fine, by what persuasion of my merchants, Englishmen, and of those of Scio: I was entreated to come into the harbour: and had a safe assurance for twenty days against the Turk's army, with a bond of the city in the sum of 12,000 ducats. So I made haste and sold such goods as I had to the Turks that came thither; and put all in order with as much speed as I could: fearing the coming of the Turk's navy; of the which, the chief of the city knew right well.

So upon the sudden, they called me of great friendship and in secret told me, I had no way to save myself but to be gone; for said they, "We are not able to defend you that are not able to help ourselves. For the Turk, where he cometh, taketh what he will and leaveth what he lists: but the chief of the Turks set order that none shall do any harm to the people or to their goods." This was such news to me, that indeed I was at my wits' end; and was brought into many imaginations what to do: for the wind was contrary. In fine, I determined to go forth.

But the merchants, Englishmen, and others, regarding more their gains than the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going forth: and made the mariners to

come to me to demand their wages to be paid out of hand, and to have a time to employ [*spend*] the same there. But GOD provided so for me that I paid them their money that night: and then charged them that if they would not set the ship forth; I would make them to answer the same in England with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had somewhat to lose. These did stick to me. I had twelve gunners. The Master Gunner, who was a mad-brained fellow, and the owner's servant had a parliament between themselves: and he, upon the same, came up to me with his sword drawn; swearing that he had promised the owner, Sir ANTHONY AUCHER, to live and die in the said ship against all that should offer any harm to the ship, and that he would fight with the whole army of the Turks, and never yield. With this fellow I had much ado: but at the last I made him confess his fault and follow my advice.

Thus with much labour I got out of the mole of Scio into the sea, by warping forth; with the help of Genoese boats, and a French boat that was in the mole: and being out, GOD sent me a special gale of wind to go my way. Then I caused a piece to be shot off for some of my men that were yet in the town, and with much ado they came aboard: and then I set sail a little before one o'clock, and I made all the sail I could.

About half past two o'clock there came seven galleys into Scio to stay the ship, and the Admiral of them was in a great rage because she was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best [of the townsfolk] in prison; and took all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the galleys. The Turks would have followed after me; but that the townsmen found means that they did not. The next day came thither an hundred more galleys, and there tarried for their whole company, which being together, were about 250 sail; taking their voyage to surprise the island of Malta.

The next day after I departed, I had sight of Candia: but I was two days more ere I could get in: where I thought myself out of their danger. There I continued until the Turk's army was past, which came within sight of the town.

There was preparation made as though the Turks would have come thither. There are in that island of Candia many banished men, that live continually in the mountains.

They came down to serve, to the number of 4,000 or 5,000. They are good archers. Every one was armed with his bow and arrows, a sword and a dagger; and had long hair, boots that reached up to the groin, and a shirt of mail hanging, the one half before, and the other half behind. These were sent away again as soon as the army was past. They would drink wine out of all measure.

Then the army being past, I ladened my ship with wines and other things: and so, after I had that which I had left at Scio, I departed for Messina. In the way, I found about Zante, certain galliots of Turks laying aboard of certain vessels of Venice laden with muscatels. I rescued them, and had but a barrel of wine for my powder and shot. Within a few days after, I came to Messina.

I had in my ship a Spanish pilot, called NOBIEZIA, which I took in at Cadiz at my coming forth. He went with me all this voyage into the Levant without wages, of goodwill that he bare me and the ship. He stood me in good stead until I came back again to Cadiz; and then I needed no pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the ship and goods in safety: GOD be praised!

And all those mariners that were in my said ship—which were, besides boys, threescore and ten—for the most part, were within five or six years after, able to take charge of ships, and did.

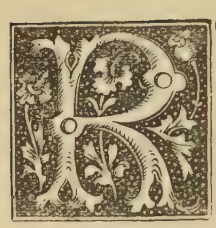
RICHARD CHANCELLOR, who first discovered Russia, was with me in that voyage; and MATTHEW BAKER, who afterwards became the Queen's Majesty's Chief Shipwright.

Robert Tomson, of Andover, Merchant

Voyage to the West Indies and Mexico, 1556–1558, A.D.

[Hakluyt. *Voyages.* 1589.]

That these Englishmen were allowed to go to New Spain at all was probably one of the results of the marriage of Philip with Mary Tudor. Blake, Field, and Tomson were probably the first British islanders who reached the city of Mexico. This narrative also gives us an account of the first *auto-da-fé* in that city.



OBERT TOMSON, born in the town of Andover, in Hampshire, began his travels out of England in the month of March, *anno* 1553 [*i.e.*, 1554]; who departing out of the city of Bristol in company of other merchants of the said city, in a good ship called the bark *Young*, within eight days after, arrived at Lisbon, at Portugal: where the said ROBERT TOMSON remained fifteen days. At the end of which, he shipped himself for Spain in the said ship, and within four days arrived in the bay of Cadiz in Andalusia, which is under the kingdom of Spain: and from thence, travelled up to the city of Seville by land, which is twenty leagues; and there, he repaired to the house of one JOHN FIELD, an English merchant who had dwelt in the said city of Seville eighteen or twenty years married, with wife and children. In whose house, the said TOMSON remained by the space of one whole year or thereabout, for two causes: the one, to learn the Castilian tongue; the other, to see the orders of the country, and the customs of the people.

At the end of which time, having seen the fleets of ships come out of the [West] Indies to that city, with such great quantity of gold and silver, pearls, precious stones, sugar, hides, ginger, and divers other rich commodities; he did determine with himself to seek means and opportunity to pass over to see that rich country, from whence such a great quantity of rich commodities came.

And it fell out, that within short time after, the said JOHN FIELD, where the said TOMSON was lodged, did determine to pass over into the West Indies himself, with his wife, children, and family: and, at the request of the said TOMSON, he purchased a license of the King, to pass into the Indies, for himself, wife, and children; and among them, also, for the said TOMSON to pass with them. So that presently they made preparation of victuals and other necessary provision for the voyage. But the ships which were prepared to perform the voyage being all ready to depart, were, upon certain considerations by the King's commandment, stayed and arrested, till further should be known of the King's pleasure.

Whereupon, the said JOHN FIELD, with his company and ROBERT TOMSON (being departed out of Seville, and come down to San Lucar de Barrameda, fifteen leagues off) seeing the stay made upon the ships of the said fleet, and not being assured when they would depart, determined to ship themselves for the isles of the Canaries, which are 250 leagues from San Lucar, and there to stay till the said fleet should come hither; for that is continually their port to make stay at, six or eight days, to take fresh water, bread, flesh, and other necessaries.

So that in the month of February, in *anno* 1555, the said ROBERT TOMSON, with the said JOHN FIELD and his company, shipped themselves in a caravel of the city of Cadiz, out of the town of San Lucar; and within six days, they arrived at the port of the Grand Canary: where at our coming, the ships that rode in the said port began to cry out of all measure, with loud voices; insomuch that the Castle, which stood fast by, began to shoot at us, and shot six or eight shot at us, and struck down our mainmast before we could hoist out our boat to go on land to know what the cause of the shooting was; seeing that we were Spanish ships, and coming into our country.

So that being on land, and complaining of the wrong and damage done unto us; they answered that "they had thought we had been French rovers, that had come into the said port to do some harm to the ships that were there." For that eight days past, there went out of the said port a caravel much like unto ours, ladened with sugars and other merchandise for Spain; and on the other side of the Point of the said island, met with a French Man of War: which took the said caravel, and unladed out of her into the said French ship, both men and goods. And it being demanded of the said Spaniards, "What other ships remained in the port whence they came?"; they answered, "There remained divers other ships, and one ladened with sugars as they were, and ready to depart for Spain." Upon the which news, the Frenchmen put thirty tall men of their ship, well appointed, into the said caravel that they had taken, and sent her back again to the said port from whence she had departed the day before.

Somewhat late towards evening, she came into port, not

showing past three or four men: and so came to an anchor hard by the other ships that were in the said port. Being seen by the Castle and by the said ships, they made no reckoning of her, because they knew her: and thinking that she had found contrary winds at the sea, or having forgotten something behind them, they had returned back again for the same, they made no account of her, but let her alone riding quietly among the other ships in the said port. So that about midnight, the said caravel, with the Frenchmen in her, went aboard [*touched*] the other ship that lay hard by, ladened with sugars; and driving the Spaniards that were in her under the hatches, presently let slip her cables and anchors, and set sail and carried her clean away: and after this sort, deceived them. And they thinking or fearing that we were the like, did shoot at us as they did.

This being past: the next day after our arrival in the said port, we did unbark ourselves, and went on land up to the city or head town of the Grand Canaria, where we remained eighteen or twenty days; and there found certain Englishmen, merchants, servants of ANTHONY HICKMAN and EDWARD CASTELIN, merchants in the city of London, that lay there for traffic: of whom we received great courtesy and much good cheer.

After the which twenty days being past, in which we had seen the country, the people, and the disposition thereof; we departed from thence, and passed to the next isle of the Canaries, eighteen leagues off, called Teneriffe; and being come on land, went up to the city called La Laguna: where we remained seven months, attending the coming of the whole fleet, which, in the end, came; and there having taken that which they had need of, we shipped ourselves in a ship of Cadiz, being one of the said fleet, belonging to an Englishman married in the city of Cadiz in Spain, whose name was JOHN SWEETING. There came in the said ship as Captain, an Englishman also, whose name was LEONARD CHILTON, married in Cadiz, and son-in-law to the said JOHN SWEETING: and another Englishman also, whose name was RALPH SARRE, came in the same ship, which had been a merchant of the city of Exeter; one of fifty years of age or thereabouts.

So that we departed from the said islands in the month of

October, the foresaid year [1555], eight ships in our company, and so directed our course towards the Bay of New Spain [*Gulf of Mexico*]; and, by the way, towards the island of Santo Domingo, otherwise called Hispaniola: so that within forty-two days [*i.e., in December*] after we departed from the said islands of Canaries, we arrived with our ship at the port of Santo Domingo; and went in over the bar, where our ship knocked her keel at her entry. There our ship rid [*rode*] before the town; where we went on land, and refreshed ourselves sixteen days.

There we found no bread made of wheat, but biscuit brought out of Spain, and out of the Bay of Mexico. For the country itself doth yield no kind of grain to make bread withal: but the bread they make there, is certain cakes made of roots called *cassavia*; which is something substantial, but it hath an unsavoury taste in the eating thereof. Flesh of beef and mutton, they have great store; for there are men that have 10,000 head of cattle, of oxen, bulls, and kine, which they do keep only for the hides: for the quantity of flesh is so great, that they are not able to spend the hundredth part. Of hog's flesh is there good store, very sweet and savoury; and so wholesome that they give it to sick folks to eat, instead of hens and capons: although they have good store of poultry of that sort, as also of guinea cocks and guinea hens.

At the time of our being there, the city of Santo Domingo was not of above 500 households of Spaniards: but of the Indians dwelling in the suburbs, there were more. The country is, most part of the year, very hot: and very full of a kind of flies or gnats with long bills [*mosquitos*], which do prick and molest the people very much in the night when they are asleep, in pricking their faces and hands and other parts of their bodies that lie uncovered, and make them to swell wonderfully. Also there is another kind of small worm, which creepeth into the soles of men's feet, and especially of the Black Moors [*Indians*] and children which use to go barefoot, and maketh their feet to grow as big as a man's head, and doth so ache that it would make one run mad. They have no remedy for the same, but to open the flesh, sometimes three or four inches, and so dig them out.

The country yieldeth great store of sugar, hides of oxen, bulls and kine, ginger, *cana fistula*, and *salsaparilla*. Mines

of silver and gold there are none; but in some rivers, there is found some small quantity of gold. The principal coin that they do traffic withal in that place is black money, made of copper and brass: and this they say they do use, not for that they lack money of gold and silver to trade withal out of the other parts of [West] India, but because, if they should have good money, the merchants that deal with them in trade would carry away their gold and silver, and let the country commodities lie still. And thus much for Santo Domingo. So we were, coming from the isles of Canaries to Santo Domingo, and staying there, until the month of December: which was three months.

About the beginning of January [1556], we departed thence towards the Bay of Mexico and New Spain; towards which we set our course, and so sailed twenty-four days, till we came within fifteen leagues of San Juan de Ulua, which was the port of Mexico of our right discharge.

And being so near our said port, there rose a storm of northerly winds which came off from *Terra Florida*; which caused us to cast about into the sea again, for fear lest that night we should be cast upon the shore before day did break, and so put ourselves in danger of casting away. The wind and sea grew so foul and strong, that, within two hours after the storm began, nine ships that were together, were so dispersed, that we could not see one another.

One of the ships of our company, being of the burden of 500 tons, called the "Hulk of Carion," would not cast about to sea, as we did; but went that night with the land: thinking in the morning to purchase the port of San Juan de Ulua; but missing the port, went with the shore, and was cast away. There were drowned of that ship, seventy-five persons, men, women, and children; and sixty-four were saved that could swim, and had means to save themselves. Among those that perished in that ship, was a gentleman who had been Pres[id]ent the year before in Santo Domingo, his wife and four daughters, with the rest of his servants and household.

We, with the other seven ships, cast about into the sea, the storm [en]during ten days with great might, boisterous winds, fogs, and rain. Our ship, being old and weak, was so tossed that she opened at the stern a fathom under water, and the best remedy we had was to stop it with beds and pilobiers

[? *pillows for litters*]: and for fear of sinking we threw and lightened into the sea all the goods we had, or could come by; but that would not serve.

Then we cut our mainmast, and threw all our ordnance into the sea, saving one piece; which, early in a morning, when we thought we should have sunk, we shot off: and, as it pleased GOD, there was one of the ships of our company near unto us, which we saw not by means of the great fog; which hearing the sound of the piece, and understanding some of the company to be in great extremity, began to make towards us, and when they came within hearing of us, we desired them "for the love of GOD! to help to save us, for that we were all like to perish!" They willed us "to hoist our foresail as much as we could, and make towards them; for they would do their best to save us;" and so we did.

And we had no sooner hoisted our foresail, but there came a gale of wind; and a piece of sea struck in the foresail, and carried away sail and mast all overboard: so that then we thought there was no hope of life. And then we began to embrace one another, every man his friend, every wife her husband, and the children their fathers and mothers; committing our souls to Almighty GOD, thinking never to escape alive. Yet it pleased GOD, in the time of most need, when all hope was past, to aid us with His helping hand, and caused the wind a little to cease; so that within two hours after, the other ship was able to come aboard us, and took into her, with her boat, man, woman and child, naked without hose, or shoes upon many of our feet.

I do remember that the last person that came out of the ship into the boat was a woman Black Moore [*Indian*]; who leaping out of the ship into the boat, with a young sucking child in her arms, leapt too short, and fell into the sea, and was a good while under the water before the boat could come to rescue her: and, with the spreading of her clothes rose above water again, and was caught by the coat and pulled into the boat, having still her child under her arm, both of them half drowned; and yet her natural love towards her child would not let her let the child go. And when she came aboard the boat, she held her child so fast under her arm still, that two men were scant able to get it out.

So we departed out of our ship, and left it in the sea. It

was worth 400,000 ducats [= *about* £100,000 *then* = *about* £900,000 *now*], ship and goods, when we left it.

Within three days after, we arrived at our port of San Juan de Ulua, in New Spain.

I do remember that in the great and boisterous storm of this foul weather, in the night there came upon the top of our mainyard and mainmast, a certain little light, much like unto the light of a little candle, which the Spaniards called the *corpos sancto*, and said "It was Saint ELMO" [*see Vol. II. p. 71*], whom they take to be the advocate of sailors. At which sight, the Spaniards fell down upon their knees and worshipped it: praying GOD and Saint ELMO to cease the torment, and save them from the peril they were in; with promising him that, on their coming on land, they would repair unto his chapel, and there cause masses to be said, and other ceremonies to be done. The friars [did] cast relics into the sea, to cause the sea to be still, and likewise said *Gospels*, with other crossings and ceremonies upon the sea to make the storm to cease: which, as they said, did much good to weaken the fury of the storm. But I could not perceive it, nor gave any credit to it; till it pleased GOD to send us the remedy, and delivered us from the rage of the same. His name be praised therefore!

This light continued aboard our ship about three hours, flying from mast to mast, and from top to top; and sometimes it would be in two or three places at once. I informed myself of learned men afterward, what this light should be? and they said that "It was but a congelation of the wind and vapours of the sea congealed with the extremity of the weather, and so flying in the wind, many times doth chance to hit the masts and shrouds of the ship that are at sea in foul weather." And, in truth, I do take it to be so: for that I have seen the like in other ships at sea, and in sundry ships at once. By this, men may see how the Papists are given to believe and worship such vain things and toys as God; to whom all honour doth appertain: and in their need and necessities do let [*cease*] to call upon the living GOD, who is the giver of all good things.

The 16th of April in *anno* 1556, we arrived at the port of San Juan de Ulua in New Spain, very naked and distressed of apparel and all other things, by means of the loss of our

foresaid ship and goods; and from thence we went to the new town called Vera Cruz, five leagues from the said port of San Juan de Ulua, marching still by the sea shore: where we found lying upon the sands a great quantity of mighty great trees, with roots and all, some of them four, five, or six cart load, by estimation; which, as the people told us, were, in the great stormy weather which we [en]dured at sea, rooted out of the ground in *Terra Florida* right against that place (which is 300 leagues over the sea), and brought thither.

So that we came to the said town of Vera Cruz; where we remained a month. There the said JOHN FIELD chanced to meet an old friend of his acquaintance in Spain, called GONZALO RUIZ DE CORDOVA, a very rich man of the said town of Vera Cruz; who (hearing of his coming thither, with his wife and family; and of his misfortune by sea) came unto him, and received him and all his household into his house, and kept us there a whole month, making us very good cheer; and giving us good entertainment, and also gave us, that were in all eight persons, of the said J. FIELD's house, double apparel, new out of the shop, of very good cloth, coats, cloaks, shirts, smocks, gowns for the women, hose, shoes, and all other necessary apparel; and for our way up to the city of Mexico, horses, moyles [*mules*], and men; and money in our purses for the expenses by the way, which by our account might amount unto the sum of 400 crowns [=£120 *then* = *about* £1,000 *now*].

After we were entered two days' journey into the country, I, the said ROBERT TOMSON, fell sick of an ague: so that the next day I was not able to sit on my horse; but was fain to be carried upon Indians' backs from thence to Mexico.

And when we came within half a day's journey of the city of Mexico, the said JOHN FIELD also fell sick; and within three days after we arrived at the said city, he died. And presently sickened one of his children, and two more of his household people; who within eight days died. So that within ten days after we arrived at the city of Mexico, of eight persons that were of us of the said company, there remained but four of us alive: and I, the said TOMSON, at the point of death, of the sickness that I got on the way, which continued with me for the space of six months [*till October* 1556]. At the end of which time, it pleased GOD

to restore me my health again, though weak and greatly disabled.

Mexico was a city, in my time, of not above 1,500 households of Spaniards inhabiting there; but of Indian people in the suburbs of the said city, there dwelt about 300,000 as it was thought, and many more. This city of Mexico is sixty-five leagues from the North Sea [*the Gulf of Mexico*] and seventy-five leagues from the South Sea [*the Pacific Ocean*]; so that it standeth in the midst of the main land, betwixt the one sea and the other.

It is situated in the midst of a lake of standing water, and surrounded round about with the same; save, in many places, going out of the city, are many broad ways through the said lake or water. This lake and city are surrounded also with great mountains round about, which are in compass above thirty leagues; and the said city and lake of standing water doth stand in a great plain in the midst of it. This lake of standing water doth proceed from the shedding of the rain, that falleth upon the said mountains; and so gathers itself together in this place.

All the whole proportion of this city doth stand in a very plain ground; and in the midst of the said city is a square Place, of a good bow shot over from side to side. In the midst of the said Place is a high Church, very fair and well built all through, but at that time not half finished.

Round about the said Place, are many fair houses built. On the one side are the houses where MONTEZUMA, the great King of Mexico that was, dwelt; and now there lie always the Viceroys that the King of Spain sendeth thither every three years: and in my time there was for Viceroy a gentleman of Castille, called Don LUIS DE VELASCO.

And on the other side of the said Place, over against the same, is the Bishop's house, very fairly built; and many other houses of goodly building. And hard by the same are also other very fair houses, built by the Marquis DE LA VALLE, otherwise called HERNANDO CORTES; who was he that first conquered the said city and country. After the said conquest (which he made with great labour and travail of his person, and danger of his life), being grown great in the country; the King of Spain sent for him, saying that he had

some particular matters to impart to him: and, when he came home, he could not be suffered to return back again, as the King before had promised him. With the sorrow for which, he died: and this he had for the reward of his good service.

The said city of Mexico hath streets made very broad and right [*straight*] that a man being in the highway at one end of the street, may see at the least a good mile forward: and in all the one part of the streets of the north part of their city, there runneth a pretty lake of very clear water, that every man may put into his house as much as he will, without the cost of anything but of the letting in.

Also there is a great ditch of water that cometh through the city, even into the high Place; where come, every morning, at break of the day, twenty or thirty canoes or troughs of the Indians; which bring in them all manner of provisions for the city that is made and groweth in the country: which is a very good commodity for the inhabitants of that place. And as for victuals in the said city, beef, mutton, hens, capons, quails, guinea cocks, and such like, are all very good cheap; as the whole quarter of an ox, as much as a slave can carry away from the butcher's, for five tomynes, that is, five rials of plate [*i.e., of silver. See Vol. I. p.* 320; *Vol. II. p.* 8], which is just 2s. 6d. [=£1 5*s.* 0*d. now*]; and fat sheep at the butcher's, for three rials, which is 1s. 6d. [=12*s.* 6*d. now*], and no more. Bread is as good cheap as in Spain; and all other kinds of fruits, as apples, pears, pomegranates, and quinces, at a reasonable rate.

The city goeth wonderfully forward in building of Friaries and Nunneries, and Chapels; and is like, in time to come, to be the most populous city in the world, as it may be supposed.

The weather is there always very temperate. The day differeth but one hour of length all the year long. The fields and woods are always green. The woods are full of popinjays, and many other kind of birds, that make such a harmony of singing and crying, that any man will rejoice to hear it. In the fields are such odoriferous smells of flowers and herbs, that it giveth great content to the senses.

In my time, were dwelling and alive in Mexico, many ancient men that were of the Conquerors, at the first con-

quest with HERNANDO CORTES: for, then, it was about thirty-six years ago, that the said country was conquered.

Being something strong, I procured to seek means to live, and to seek a way how to profit myself in the country seeing it had pleased GOD to send us thither in safety.

Then, by the friendship of one THOMAS BLAKE, a Scottishman born, who had dwelt, and had been married in the said city above twenty years before I came to the said city [*i.e.*, *before* 1536], I was preferred to the service of a gentleman, a Spaniard dwelling there, a man of great wealth, and of one of the first conquerors of the said city, whose name was GONZALO SEREZO: with whom I dwelt twelve months and a half [*i.e.*, *up to November* 1557]; at the end of which, I was maliciously accused by the Holy House for matters of religion.

And because it shall be known wherefore it was, that I was so punished by the clergy's hand; I will in brief words, declare the same.

It is so, that, being in Mexico, at table, among many principal people at dinner, they began to inquire of me, being an Englishman, "Whether it were true that in England, they had overthrown all their Churches and Houses of Religion; and that all the images of the saints of heaven that were in them, were thrown down and broken, and burned, and [that they] in some places stoned highways with them; and [that they] denied their obedience to the Pope of Rome: as they had been certified out of Spain by their friends?"

To whom, I made answer, "That it was so. That, in deed, they had in England, put down all the religious houses of friars and monks that were in England; and the images that were in their churches and other places were taken away, and used there no more. For that, as they say, the making of them, and the putting of them where they were adored, was clean contrary to the express commandment of Almighty GOD, *Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image &c.*: and that, for that cause, they thought it not lawful that they should stand in the church, which is, the House of Adoration."

One that was at the declaring of these words, who was my master, GONZALO SEREZO, answered and said, "If it were against the commandment of GOD, to have images in the

churches; that then he had spent a great deal of money in vain; for that, two years past [*i.e.*, *in* 1555] he had made in the Monastery of Santo Domingo in the said city of Mexico, an image of Our Lady, of pure silver and gold, with pearls and precious stones, which cost him 7,000 and odd *pesos*" (and every *peso* is 6s. 8d. of our money) [= *about* £2,400, or *about* £24,000 *now*]: which indeed was true, for I have seen it many times myself where it stands.

At the table was another gentleman, who, presuming to defend the cause more than any one that was there, said, "That they knew well enough, that they were made but of stocks and stones, and that to them was no worship given; but that there was a certain veneration due unto them after they were set up in church: and that they were set there with a good intent. The one, for that they were Books for the Simple People, to make them understand the glory of the saints that were in heaven, and a shape of them; to put us in remembrance to call upon them to be our intercessors unto GOD for us: for that we are such miserable sinners that we are not worthy to appear before GOD; and that using devotion to saints in heaven, they may obtain at GOD's hands, the sooner, the thing that we demand of Him. As, for example," he said, "imagine that a subject hath offended his King upon the earth in any kind of respect; is it for the party to go boldly to the King in person, and to demand pardon for his offences? No," said he, "the presumption were too great; and possibly he might be repulsed, and have a great rebuke for his labour. Better it is for such a person to seek some private man near the King in his Court, and to make him acquainted with this matter, and let him be a mediator to His Majesty for him and for the matter he had to do with him; and so might he the better come to his purpose, and obtain the thing which he doth demand. Even so," saith he, "it is with GOD and His saints in heaven. For we are wretched sinners; and not worthy to appear or present ourselves before the Majesty of GOD, to demand of Him the thing that we have need of: therefore thou hast need to be devout! and have devotion to the mother of God, and the saints in heaven, to be intercessors to GOD for thee! and so mayest thou the better obtain of GOD, the thing that thou dost demand!"

To this I answered, "Sir, as touching the comparison you made of the intercessors to the King, how necessary they were, I would but ask of you this question. Set the case, that this King you speak of, if he be so merciful as when he knoweth that one or any of his subjects hath offended him; he send for him to his own town, or to his own house or place, and say unto him, 'Come hither! I know that thou hast offended many laws! if thou dost know thereof, and dost repent thee of the same, with full intent to offend no more, I will forgive thee thy trespass, and remember it no more!'" Said I, "If this be done by the King's own person, what then hath this man need go and seek friendship at any of the King's private servants' hands; but go to the principal: seeing that he is readier to forgive thee, than thou art to demand forgiveness at his hands!"

"Even so is it, with our gracious GOD, who calleth and crieth out unto us throughout all the world, by the mouth of His prophets and apostles; and, by His own mouth, saith, 'Come unto me all ye that labour and are over laden, and I will refresh you!' besides a thousand other offers and proffers, which He doth make unto us in His Holy Scriptures. What then have we need of the saints' help that are in heaven, whereas the LORD Himself doth so freely offer Himself for us?"

At which sayings, many of the hearers were astonied, and said that, "By that reason, I would give to understand that the Invocation of Saints was to be disannulled, and by the laws of GOD not commanded."

I answered, "That they were not my words, but the words of GOD Himself. Look into the Scriptures yourself, and you shall so find it!"

The talk was perceived to be prejudicial to the Romish doctrine; and therefore it was commanded to be no more entreated of. And all remained unthought upon, had it not been for a villainous Portuguese that was in the company, who said, *Basta ser Ingles para saber todo esto y mas*, who, the next day, without imparting anything to anybody, went to the Bishop of MEXICO and his Provisor, and said, that "In a place where he had been the day before was an Englishman, who had said that *there was no need of Saints in the Church, nor of any Invocation of Saints.* Upon whose denomination [*de-*

nouncement], I was apprehended for the same words here rehearsed, and none other thing; and thereupon was used as hereafter is written.

So, apprehended, I was carried to prison, where I lay a close prisoner seven months [*till July* 1558], without speaking to any creature, but to the gaoler that kept the said prison, when he brought me my meat and drink. In the meantime, was brought into the said prison, one AUGUSTINE BOACIO, an Italian of Genoa, also for matters of religion; who was taken at Zacatecas, eighty leagues to the north-westward of the city of Mexico.

At the end of the said seven months [*i.e., in July* 1558], we were both carried to the high Church of Mexico, to do an open penance upon a high scaffold made before the high altar, upon a Sunday, in the presence of a very great number of people; who were, at least, 5,000 or 6,000. For there were some that came one hundred miles off to see the said *auto*, as they call it; for that there was never any before, that had done the like in the said country: nor could tell what Lutherans were, nor what it meant; for they never heard of any such thing before.

We were brought into the Church, every one with a *san benito* upon his back; which is, half a yard of yellow cloth, with a hole to put in a man's head in the midst, and cast over a man's head: both flaps hang, one before, and another behind; and in the midst of every flap a Saint Andrew's cross, made of red cloth, and sewed in upon the same. And that is called *San Benito*.

The common people, before they saw the penitents come into the Church, were given to understand that we were heretics, infidels, and people that did despise GOD and His works, and that we had been more like devils than men; and thought we had had the favour [*appearance*] of some monsters or heathen people: and when they saw us come into the Church in our players' coats, the women and children began to cry out and made such a noise, that it was strange to hear and see; saying, that "They never saw goodlier men in all their lives; and that it was not possible that there could be in us so much evil as was reported of us; and that we were more like angels among men, than such persons of such evil religion as by the priests and friars, we

were reported to be; and that it was a great pity that we should be so used for so small an offence."

So that we were brought into the said high Church, and set upon the scaffold which was made before the high altar, in the presence of all the people, until *High Mass* was done; and the Sermon made by a friar concerning our matter: putting us in all the disgrace they could, to cause the people not to take so much compassion upon us, for that "we were heretics, and people seduced of the Devil, and had forsaken the faith of the Catholic Church of Rome"; with divers other reproachful words, which were too long to recite in this place.

High Mass and Sermon being done; our offences (as they called them) were recited, each man what he had said and done: and presently was the sentence pronounced against us, that was that—

> The said AUGUSTINE BOACIO was condemned to wear his *San Benito* all the days of his life, and put into perpetual prison, where he should fulfil the same; and all his goods confiscated and lost.
>
> And I, the said TOMSON, to wear the *San Benito* for three years; and then to be set at liberty.
>
> And for the accomplishing of this sentence or condemnation, we must be presently sent down from Mexico to Vera Cruz, and from thence to San Juan de Ulua, which was sixty-five leagues by land; and there to be shipped for Spain, with straight commandment that, upon pain of 1,000 ducats, every one of the Masters should look straightly unto us, and carry us to Spain, and deliver us unto the Inquisitors of the Holy House of Seville; that they should put us in the places, where we should fulfil our penances that the Archbishop of MEXICO had enjoined unto us, by his sentence there given.

For the performance of the which, we were sent down from Mexico to the seaside, with fetters upon our feet; and there delivered to the Masters of the ships to be carried for Spain, as is before said.

And it was so, that the Italian fearing that if he presented himself in Spain before the Inquisitors, that they would have burnt him; to prevent that danger, when we were coming homeward, and were arrived at the island of Terceira, one of the isles of Azores, the first night that we came to an anchor

in the said port [*i.e.*, *of Angra*], about midnight, he found the means to get him naked out of the ship into the sea, and swam naked ashore; and so presently got him to the further side of the island, where he found a little caravel ready to depart for Portugal. In the which he came to Lisbon; and passed into France, and so into England; where he ended his life in the city of London.

And I, for my part, kept still aboard the ship, and came into Spain; and was delivered to the Inquisitors of the Holy House of Seville, where they kept me in close prison till I had fulfilled the three years of my penance, [*i.e.*, *till about* 1561].

Which time being expired, I was freely put out of prison, and set at liberty.

Being in the city of Seville, a cashier of one HUGH TYPTON, an English merchant of great doing, by the space of one year [*i.e.*, *till about* 1562]; it fortuned that there came out of the city of Mexico, a Spaniard, JUAN DE LA BARRERA, that had been long time in the Indies, and had got great sums of gold and silver. He, with one only daughter, shipped himself for to come to Spain; and, by the way, chanced to die, and gave all that he had unto his only daughter, whose name was MARIA DE LA BARRERA.

She having arrived at the city of Seville, it was my chance to marry with her. The marriage was worth to me £2,500 [=£25,000 *now*] in bars of gold and silver, besides jewels of great price. This I thought good to speak of, to show the goodness of GOD to all them that trust in Him; that I, being brought out of the Indies in such great misery and infamy to the world, should be provided at GOD's hand, in one moment, of more than in all my life before, I could attain unto by my own labour.

After we departed from Mexico, our *San Benitos* were set up in the high Church of the said city, with our names written in the same, according to their use and custom; which is and will be a monument and a remembrance of us, as long as the Romish Church doth reign in that country. The same have been seen since, by one JOHN CHILTON; and divers others of our nation, which were left in that country, long since [*i.e.*, *in October* 1568] by Sir JOHN HAWKINS.

III

Roger Bodenham's

Trip to Mexico

[1564-5].

Master Roger Bodenham.

Trip to Mexico, 1564–1565, A.D.

[Probably the same man as went to Scio in 1551.]

[Hakluyt. *Voyages.* 1589.]

, Roger Bodenham, having lived a long time in the city of Seville, in Spain, being there married: and by occasion thereof, using trade and traffic to the parts of Barbary; I grew, at length, to great loss and hinderance by that new trade, begun by me, in the city of Fez.

Whereupon, being returned into Spain, I began to call my wits about me, and to consider with myself by what means I might recover and renew my state: and, in conclusion, by the aid of my friends, I procured a ship, called the bark *Fox*, pertaining to London, of the burden of 160 or 180 tons; and with the same, I made a voyage to West India; having obtained good favour with the Spanish merchants, by reason of my long abode and marriage in the country.

My voyage was in the company of the General [*Admiral*] Don Pedro Melendez, for New Spain: who being himself appointed General for *Tierra Firma* and Peru, made his son our General for New Spain; although Pedro Melendez himself was the principal man and director in both fleets.

We all departed from Cales together, the 31st day of May, in the year 1564.

And I, with my ship, being under the conduct of the son of Don Pedro aforesaid, arrived with him in New Spain; where, immediately, I took order for the discharge of my merchandise at the port of Vera Cruz, otherwise called *Villa Ricca*: to be transported thence, to the city of Mexico; which is seventy and odd leagues from the said port of Villa Rica. In the way are many good towns, as Pueblo de los Angelos, and another called Tlaxcalan.

The city of Mexico hath three great cause[wa]ys to bring men to it: and is compassed with a lake, so that it needeth

no walls, being so defended with water. It is a city plentiful of all necessary things, having many fair houses, churches, and monasteries.

I, having continued in the country the space of nine months, returned again to Spain with the Spanish Fleet; and delivered the merchandise and silver which I had in the ship, into the Contraction House [at Seville]; and there received my freight, which amounted, outwards and homewards, to the value of 13,000 ducats and more [=*about* £3,600=*about* £30,000 *now*].

I observed many things, in the time of my abode in New Spain, as well touching the commodities of the country as the manners of the people, both Spaniards and Indians; but because the Spanish histories are full of those observations, I omit them, and refer the readers to the same.

Only this I say, that the commodity of cochineal groweth in greatest abundance about the town of Puebla de los Angelos; and is not worth there, above forty pence the pound.

Rev. Richard Hakluyt.

Sir John Hawkins's First Voyage to the West Indies, Oct. 1562-*Sept.* 1563, A.D.

This and the two subsequent Voyages of Sir John Hawkins were the first initiation of the English into the African slave trade.

While the primary object of these voyages was Traffic: the secondary one was Discovery; to find out those West Indian coasts which the Spaniards had hitherto kept so secret. Notice how each successive expedition penetrated further and further towards the Gulf of Mexico.

It should also be remembered that, at the time of these Voyages, Hawkins had not been knighted, and was simply an Esquire.]

[*Voyages.* 1589.]

The first Voyage of the right worshipful and valiant Knight, Sir John Hawkins (now [*i.e.*, *in* 1589] Treasurer of Her Majesty's Royal Navy), made to the West Indies.

Master John Hawkins having made divers voyages to the Isles of the Canaries; and there, by his good and upright dealing, being grown in love and favour with the people, informed himself amongst them, by diligent inquisition, of the state of the West India: whereof he had received some knowledge by the instructions of his father; but increased the same, by the advertisements and reports of that people.

And being, amongst other particulars, assured that Negroes were very good merchandise in Hispaniola; and that store of Negroes might easily be had upon the coast of Guinea; he resolved with himself to make trial thereof: and communicated that device with his worshipful friends in London, namely, with Sir Lionel Ducket, Sir Thomas Lodge, Master Gunston his father-in-law, Sir William Winter, Master Bromfield, and others. All which persons liked so well of his intention, that they became liberal Contributors and Adventurers in the action.

For which purpose, there were three good ships immediately provided, the one called the *Solomon*, of the burthen

of 120 tons, wherein Master HAWKINS himself went as General [*i.e.*, *Admiral*] ; the second, the *Swallow*, of 100 tons, wherein went for Captain, Master THOMAS HAMPTON ; and the third, the *Jonas*, a bark of 40 tons, wherein the Master supplied the Captain's room. In which small fleet, Master HAWKINS took with him not above a hundred men, for fear of sickness and other inconveniences, whereunto men in long voyages are commonly subject.

With which company, he put off and departed from the coast of England, in the month of October, 1562 ; and in his course, touched first at Teneriffe, where he received friendly entertainment. From thence, he passed to Sierra Leone, upon the coast of Guinea ; which place, by the people of the country is called Tagarin ; where he stayed some good time, and got into his possession, partly by the sword, and partly by other means, to the number of three hundred Negroes, at the least ; besides other merchandise which that country yieldeth.

With this prey, he sailed over the ocean sea unto the island of Hispaniola, and arrived first at the port of Isabella ; and there he had reasonable utterance of his English Commodities, as also of some part of his Negroes : trusting the Spaniards no further than that, by his own strength, he was able still to master them.

From the port of Isabella, he went to Porte de Plata, where he made like sales : standing always upon his guard.

From thence also, he sailed to Monte Christi, another port on the north side of Hispaniola ; and the last place of his touching : where he had peaceable traffic, and made vent of the whole number of his Negroes.

For which he received, in those three places, by way of exchange, such a quantity of merchandise, that he did not only lade his own three ships with hides, ginger, sugar, and some quantity of pearls ; but he freighted also two other Hulks with hides and other like commodities, which he sent into Spain.

And thus leaving the island, he returned and disimboked [*disemboqued*, *i.e.*, *went out into the main ocean*], passing by the islands of the Caicos, without further entering into the Bay of Mexico, in this his First Voyage to the West India.

And so, with prosperous success, and much gain to himself and the aforesaid Adventurers, he came home, and arrived in the month of September, 1563.

A Gentleman in the Voyage.

Sir John Hawkins's Second Voyage to the West Indies;

18*th Oct.*, 1564—20*th Sept.*, 1565.

[Hakluyt. *Voyages.* 1589.]

[There are six stages in this Voyage:

OUTWARDS.

18 Oct.—29 Nov. 1564. Plymouth, to Cape de Verde ... *pp.* 32-37
29 Nov. 1564—19 Jan. 1565. Along the Guinea coast ... *pp.* 37-46
19 Jan.—9 March 1565. Guinea coast to the W. I. ... ... *p.* 46
9 Mar.—31 May 1565. Along the North coast of South America, to Rio de la Hacha ... *pp.* 46-62

HOMEWARDS.

31 May—28 July 1565. Rio de la Hacha, to River of May, Florida ... ... *pp.* 62-79
28 July—20 Sept. 1565. Florida, to Padstow in Cornwall *pp.* 79-80]

The Voyage made by the Worshipful Master John Hawkins, Esquire, now Knight; Captain of the *Jesus* of Lubeck, one of Her Majesty's ships: and General [*Admiral*] of the *Solomon*, and other two [vessels] barks, going in his company to the coast of Guinea, and the Indies of New Spain; being in Africa and America. Began in *Anno Domini*, 1564.

The names of certain Gentlemen that were in this Voyage.

Master John Hawkins.
Master John Chester, Sir William Chester's son.
Master Anthony Parkhurst.
Master Fitzwilliam.
Master Thomas Woorley.
Master Edward Lacie. With divers others.

∴ *The Register* [i.e., the Log of the various dates] *and true accounts of all herein expressed hath been approved by me, JOHN SPARKE the younger; who went upon the same Voyage, and wrote the same* [i.e., kept a journal of these transactions].

ITH the *Jesus* of Lubeck, a ship of 700 tons; and the *Solomon*, a ship of 140; the *Tiger*, a bark of 50; and the *Swallow*, of 50 tons; being all well furnished with men to the number of 170, as also with ordnance and victuals requisite for such a Voyage; Master JOHN HAWKINS departed out of Plymouth, the 18th day of October, in the year of our Lord 1564, with a prosperous wind.

At which departing, in cutting of the foresail, a marvellous misfortune happened to one of the Officers in the ship; who by the pulley of the sheet, was slain out of hand: being a sorrowful beginning to them all.

And after their setting out ten leagues to the sea, he met, the same day, with the *Minion*, a ship of the Queen's Majesty, whereof was Captain DAVID CARLET, and also her consort, the *John Baptist* of London; being bound to Guinea also: who hailed one the other, after the custom of the sea, with certain pieces of ordnance, for joy of their meeting. Which done, the *Minion* departed from him, to seek her other consort, the *Merlin* of London, which was astern, out of sight; leaving in Master HAWKINS's company, the *John Baptist*, her other consort.

Thus sailing forwards on their way, with a prosperous wind, until the 21st of the same month; at that time, a great storm arose, the wind being at north-east, about nine o'clock in the night, and so continued twenty-three hours together. In which storm, Master HAWKINS lost the company of the *John Baptist* aforesaid, and of his pinnace called the *Swallow*: his other three ships being sore beaten with the storm.

The 23rd day, the *Swallow*, to his no small rejoicing, came to him again in the night, ten leagues to the northward of Cape Finisterre: he having put roomer [*gone out to sea*]; not being able to double the Cape, in that there rose a contrary wind at south-west.

The 25th, the wind continuing contrary, he put into a

place in Galicia, called Ferrol; where he remained five days, and appointed all the Masters of his ships an Order for keeping of good company, in this manner.

> The small ships to be always ahead and aweather of the *Jesus*: and to speak, twice a day, with the *Jesus* at least.
>
> If in the day, the ensign to be over the poop of the *Jesus*; or in the night, two lights: then shall all the ships speak with her.
>
> If there be three lights aboard the *Jesus*, then doth she cast about.
>
> If the weather be extreme, that the small ships cannot keep company with the *Jesus*, then all to keep company with the *Solomon*: and forthwith to repair to the island of Teneriffe, to the northward of the road of Sirroes.
>
> If any happen to any misfortune; then to shew two lights, and to shoot off a piece of ordnance.
>
> If any lose company, and come in sight again; to make three yaws [? *veerings of the ship*] and strike [*lower*] the misen [*i.e., the misen sail*] three times.
>
> Serve GOD daily! [*i.e., have daily prayers*], love one another! preserve your victuals! beware of fire! and keep good company [*i.e., of the fleet together*].

The 26th day, the *Minion* came in also, where he was: for the rejoicing whereof, he gave them [volleys from] certain pieces of ordnance, after the courtesy of the sea, for their welcome. But the *Minion*'s men had no mirth, because of their consort, the *Merlin*: which, after their departure from Master HAWKINS upon the coast of England, they went to seek; and having met with her, kept company two days together. At last, by the misfortune of fire, through the negligence of one of their Gunners, the powder in the Gunner's Room was set on fire: which, with the first blast, struck out her poop, and therewithal lost three men: besides many sore burned, which escaped by the brigantine [*i.e., the* Minion; *apparently the ship of the same name in the Third Voyage*] being at her stern: and, immediately, to the great loss of the owners, and most horrible sight to the beholders, she sank before their eyes.

The 30th day of the month, Master HAWKINS, with his

consorts, and [the] company of the *Minion*; [the *Jesus*] having now both the brigantines [the *Solomon* and the *Minion*] at her stern, weighed anchor, and set sail on her voyage; having a prosperous wind thereunto.

The 4th of November, they had sight of the island of Madeira; and the 6th day, of Teneriffe, which they thought to have been the [Grand] Canary, in that they supposed themselves to have been to the eastward of Teneriffe; and were not. But the *Minion*, being three or four leagues ahead of us, kept on her course to Teneriffe; having a better sight thereof, than the others had: and by that means, they parted company.

For Master HAWKINS and his company went more to the West. Upon which course, having sailed a while, he espied another island, which he thought to be Teneriffe: and being not able, by means of the fog upon the hills, to discern the same, nor yet to fetch it by night; he went roomer until the morning, being the 7th of November. Which, as yet, he could not discern, but sailed along the coast the space of two hours, to perceive some certain mark of Teneriffe; and found no likelihood thereof at all, accounting that to be (as it was indeed) the isle of Palms [*Palmas*].

So sailing forwards, he espied another island called Gomera; and also Teneriffe, with which he made: and, sailing all night, came in the morning, the next day, to the port of Adecia; where he found his pinnace, which had departed [*separated*] from him the 6th of the month, being in the weather of him, and espying the Pike of Teneriffe all a high, bare thither.

At his arrival, somewhat before he came to anchor, he hoisted out his ship's pinnace, rowing ashore; intending to have sent one with a letter to PETER DE PONTE, one of the Governors of the island, who dwelt a league from the shore: but as he pretended [*intended*] to have landed, suddenly there appeared upon the two points of the road, men levelling of bases and harquebusses to them, with divers others with halberts, pikes, swords, and targets, to the number of four score: which happened so contrary to his expectation, that it did greatly amaze him; and the more, because he was now in their danger, not knowing well how to avoid it without some mischief.

Wherefore, he determined to call to them, for the better appeasing of the matter; declaring his name, and professing himself to be an especial friend to PETER DE PONTE, and that he had sundry things for him, which he greatly desired: and in the meantime, while he was thus talking with them (whereby he made them to hold their hands) he willed the mariners to row away; so that, at last, he gat out of their danger. And then asking for PETER DE PONTE; one of his sons, being Senor NICHOLAS DE PONTE, came forth: whom, he perceiving, desired "to put his men aside, and he himself would leap ashore, and commune with him," which they did. So that after communication had between them, of sundry things, and of the fear they both had: Master HAWKINS desired to have certain necessaries provided for him.

In the mean space, while these things were providing, he trimmed the mainmast of the *Jesus*, which, in the storm aforesaid, was sprung. Here he sojourned seven days, refreshing himself and his men. In the which time, PETER DE PONTE, dwelling at Santa Cruz, a city twenty leagues off, came to him; and gave him as gentle entertainment, as if he had been his own brother.

To speak somewhat of these islands, being called, in old time, *Insulæ fortunæ*, by the means of the flourishing thereof. The fruitfulness of them doth surely exceed far all other that I have heard of. For they make wine better than any in Spain: and they have grapes of such bigness that they may be compared to damsons, and in taste inferior to none. For sugar, suckets [*sweetmeats*], raisons of the sun [*our present raisins*], and many other fruits, abundance: for rosin, and raw silk, there is great store. They want neither corn, pullets, cattle, nor yet wild fowl.

They have many camels also: which, being young, are eaten of the people for victuals; and being old, they are used for carriage of necessities. Whose property is, as he is taught, to kneel at the taking of his load, and the unlading again; of understanding very good, but of shape very deformed; with a little belly; long misshapen legs; and feet very broad of flesh, without a hoof, all whole saving the great toe; a back bearing up like a molehill, a large and thin neck, with a little head, with a bunch of hard flesh which Nature hath given him in his breast to lean upon. This beast liveth

hardly, and is contented with straw and stubble; but of strong force, being well able to carry five hundredweight.

In one of these islands called Ferro, there is, by the reports of the inhabitants, a certain tree which raineth continually; by the dropping whereof, the inhabitants and cattle are satisfied with water: for other water have they none in all the island. And it raineth in such abundance that it were incredible unto a man to believe such a virtue to be in a tree; but it is known to be a Divine matter, and a thing ordained by GOD: at whose power therein, we ought not to marvel, seeing He did, by His Providence (as we read in the Scriptures) when the Children of Israel were going into the Land of Promise, fed them with manna from heaven, for the space of forty years. Of these trees aforesaid, we saw in Guinea many; being of great height, dropping continually; but not so abundantly as the other, because the leaves are narrower, and are like the leaves of a pear tree.

About these islands are certain flitting islands, which have been oftentimes seen; and when men approach near them, they vanished: as the like hath been of these now known (by the report of the inhabitants), which were not found but of a long time, one after the other; and, therefore, it should seem he is not yet born, to whom GOD hath appointed the finding of them.

In this island of Teneriffe, there is a hill called the Pike, because it is piked; which is, in height, by their report, twenty leagues: having, both winter and summer, abundance of snow on the top of it. This Pike may be seen, in a clear day, fifty leagues off; but it sheweth as though it were a black cloud [at] a great height in the Element [*atmosphere*]. I have heard of none to be compared with this in height; but in the [West] Indies I have seen many, and, in my judgement, not inferior to the Pike: and so the Spaniards write.

The 15th of November, at night, we departed from Teneriffe; and the 20th of the same, we had sight of ten caravels that were fishing at sea: with whom we would have spoken; but they, fearing us, fled into a place of Barbary, called Cape de las Barbas.

The 20th, the ship's pinnace, with two men in her, sailing by the ship, was overthrown [*upset*] by the oversight of them that were in her. The wind was so great, that before they

were espied and the ship had cast about [*tacked*] for them, she was driven half a league to the leeward of the pinnace; and had lost sight of her, so that there was small hope of recovery, had not GOD's help and the Captain's [Sir J. HAWKINS] diligence been: who, having well marked which way the pinnace was by the sun, appointed twenty-four of the lustiest rowers in the great boat to row to the windwards; and so recovered (contrary to all men's expectations) both the pinnace and the men sitting upon the keel of her.

The 25th, he came to Cape Blanco, which is on the coast of Africa; and a place where the Portuguese do ride [*i.e., at anchor*], that fish there, in the month of November especially; and is a very good place of fishing for pargoes, mullet, and dog fish. In this place, the Portuguese have no Hold for their defence; but have rescue [*defence*] of the barbarians, whom they entertain as their soldiers for the time of their being there: and for their fishing upon that coast of Africa, do pay a certain tribute to the King of the Moors. The people of that part of Africa are tawny, having long hair. Their weapons, in wars, are bows and arrows.

The 26th, we departed from S. Avis Bay, within Cape Blanco; where we had refreshed ourselves with fish and other necessaries: and the 29th, we came to Cape Verde, which lieth in 14½° N. Lat.

These people are all black, and are called Negroes; of stature, goodly men: and well liking, by reason of their food, which [sur]passeth [that of] all other Guineans, for kine, goats, pullen, rice, fruits, and fish. Here we took fishes with heads like conies [*rabbits*], and teeth nothing varying; of a jolly thickness, but not past a foot long: and are not to be eaten, without flaying or cutting off the head.

To speak somewhat of the sundry sorts of these Guineans. The people of Cape Verde are called Leophares, and counted the goodliest men of all others, saving the Manicongoes, which do inhabit on this side the Cape of Good Hope. These Leophares have wars against the Jeloffes, which are borderers [*neighbours*] by them. Their weapons are bows and arrows, targets, and short daggers; darts also, but varying from other Negroes: for, whereas the others use a long dart to fight with in their hands, they carry five or six small ones a piece, which they cast with.

These men also are more civil than any others, because of their daily traffic with the Frenchmen; and are of a nature very gentle and loving. For while we were there, we took in a Frenchman; who was one of the nineteen that going to Brazil in a bark of Dieppe, of 60 tons: and being a seaboard of Cape Verde, 200 leagues, the planks of their bark, with a sea, break out upon them so suddenly, that much ado they had to save themselves in their boats. But by GOD's providence, the wind being westerly (which is rarely seen there), they got to the shore, to the isle Braves [? *Goree*]; and in great penury got to Cape Verde: where they remained six weeks, and had meat and drink of the same people.

The said Frenchman having forsaken his fellows, which were three leagues from the shore: and wandering with the Negroes to and fro, fortuned to come to the water's side; and communing with certain of his countrymen which were in our ship, by their persuasions, came away with us. But his entertainment amongst them was such [*i.e., so pleasant*], that he desired it not; but, through the importunate request of his countrymen, consented at the last.

Here we stayed but one night and part of the day. For the 7th of December, we came away: in that pretending [*intending*] to have taken Negroes there, perforce; the *Minion*'s men gave them there to understand of our coming, and our pretence, wherefore they did avoid the snares we had laid for them.

The 8th of December, we anchored by a small island called Alcatrarsa [*Alcantraz island*]: wherein, at our going ashore, we found nothing but sea birds, as we call them, gannets; but by the Portuguese called Alcatrarses, who, for that cause, gave the said island the same name. Herein, half of our boats were ladened with young and old fowl; which, not being used to the sight of men, flew so about us, that we struck them down with poles.

In this place, the two ships riding; the two barks, with their boats, went into an island of the Sapies, called La Formio, to see if they could take any of them: and there landed, to the number of 80, in armour. And espying certain, made to them; but they fled in such order [*a manner*] into the woods, that it booted them not to follow.

So, going on their way forward till they came to a river, which they could not pass over; they espied on the other side,

two men; who, with their bows and arrows, shot terribly at them. Whereupon we discharged certain harquebusses to them again; but the ignorant people weighed it not, because they knew not the danger thereof: but used a marvellous crying in their fight, with leaping and turning their tails, that it was most strange to see, and gave us great pleasure to behold them. At the last, one being hurt with an harquebus upon the thigh, looked upon his wound, and wist now how it came because he could not see the pellet.

Here Master HAWKINS perceiving no good to be done amongst them, because we could not find their towns; and also not knowing how to go into Rio Grande [*or Jeba*] for want of a pilot, which was the very occasion of our coming thither: and finding so many shoals, feared, with our great ships to go in; and therefore departed on our pretended [*intended*] way to the Idols.

The 10th of December, we had a north-east wind with rain and storm; which weather continuing two days together, was the occasion that the *Solomon* and *Tiger* lost our company: for whereas the *Jesus* and pinnace [*Swallow*] anchored at one of the islands called Sambula, the 12th day; the *Solomon* and *Tiger* came not thither till the 14th.

In this island, we stayed certain days; going, every day, on shore to take the inhabitants, with burning and spoiling their towns: who before were Sapies, and were conquered by the Samboses [*the modern Sambos*], inhabitants beyond Sierra Leone.

These Samboses had inhabited there three years before our coming thither; and, in so short space, have so planted the ground that they had great plenty of mill [*millet*], rice, roots, pompions [*pumpkins*], pullin, goats, of small dried fry: every house being full of the country's fruit, planted by GOD's Providence, as Palmito trees, fruits like dates, and sundry others, in no place in all that country so abundantly; whereby they lived more deliciously than others.

These inhabitants had divers of the Sapies which they took in the wars, as their slaves; whom only they kept to till the ground, in that they neither have the knowledge thereof, nor yet will work themselves: of whom, we took many at that place; but of the Samboses, none at all; for they fled into the main[land].

All the Samboses have white teeth as we have, far unlike to the Sapies which do inhabit about Rio Grande: for their teeth are all filed, which they do for bravery, to set themselves out; and do jag [? *tattoo*] their flesh, both legs, arms, and bodies as workmanlike as a jerkin maker with us pinketh a jerkin. These Sapies be more civil than the Samboses. For whereas the Samboses live most by the spoil of their enemies, both in taking their victuals, and eating them also: the Sapies do not eat man's flesh, unless, in the wars, they be driven by necessity thereunto (which they have not used [*done*] but by the example of the Samboses); but live only with fruits and cattle, whereof they have great store.

This plenty is the occasion that the Sapies desire not war, except they be thereunto provoked by the invasions of the Samboses: whereas the Samboses, for want of food, are enforced thereunto; and, therefore, are not only wont to kill them that they take, but also keep those that they take until such time as they want meat, and then they kill them.

There is also another occasion that provoketh the Samboses to war against the Sapies; which is for coveteousness of their riches. For whereas the Sapies have an order [*a custom*] to bury their dead in certain places appointed for that purpose, with their gold about them; the Samboses dig up the ground to have the same treasure: for the Samboses have not the like store of gold that the Sapies have.

In this island of Sambula, we found about fifty boats called [in Portuguese] *almadas* or canoes, which are made of one piece of wood, digged out like a trough; but yet of a good proportion, being about eight yards long, and one in breadth, having a beak head, and a stern very proportionably made; and on the outside artificially carved, and painted red and blue. They are able to carry [at sea] twenty or thirty men; but about the coast, threescore and upward. In these canoes, they row, standing upright, with an oar somewhat longer than a man; the end whereof is made about the breadth and length of a man's hand of the largest sort. They row very swift; and, in some of them, four rowers and one to steer make as much way as a pair of oars in [a wherry on] the Thames of London.

Their towns are prettily divided, with a main street at

the entering in, that goeth through the town; and another overthwart street, which maketh their towns crossways.

Their houses are built in a rank, very orderly, in the face of the street: and they are made round, like a dovecot, with stakes set full of Palmito leaves, instead of a wall. They are not much more than a fathom large [*across*], and two of height; and thatched with Palmito leaves very close, other some with reeds: and over the roof thereof, for the better garnishing of the same, there is a round bundle of reeds prettily contrived like a lover [*louvre*]. In the inner part, they make a loft of sticks whereupon they lay all their provision of victuals. A place they reserve at their entrance for the kitchen; and the place they lie in is divided with certain mats, artificially made with the rind of the Palmito trees. Their bedsteads are of small staves laid along, and raised a foot from the ground, upon which is laid a mat; and another upon them, when they list. For other covering they have none.

In the middle of the town, there is a house larger and higher than the others, but in form alike; adjoining unto which, there is a place made of four good stanchions of wood, and a round roof over it: the ground also raised round with clay, a foot high: upon the which floor were strewed many fine mats. This is the Consultation House; the like whereof is in all towns, as the Portuguese affirm. In which place, when they sit in council, the King or Captain sitteth in the midst; and the Elders upon the floor by him (for they give reverence to their Elders), and the common sort sit round about them. There they sit to examine matters of theft; which if a man be taken with, to steal but one Portuguese cloth from another, he is sold to the Portuguese for a slave. They consult also and take order what time they shall go to wars; and (as it is certainly reported by the Portuguese) they take order in gathering of the fruits, in the season of the year: and also of Palmito wine (which is gathered by a hole cut in the top of a tree and a gorde [*gourd*] set there for the receiving thereof, which falleth in by drops; and yieldeth fresh wine again within a month), and this being divided, part and portion like, to every man, by the judgement of the Captain [*Chief*] and Elders; ever man holdeth himself contented. And this, surely, I judge to be a very good order; for other-

wise where there is scarcity of Palmito; every man would have [*seek*] the same; which might breed great strife. But of such things as every man doth plant for himself; the sower thereof reapeth it to his own use: so that nothing is common but that which is unset by man's hands.

In their houses, there is more common passage of lizards like evets, and others greater (of black and blue colour, of near[ly] a foot long besides their tails) than there is, with us, of mice in great houses.

The Sapies and Samboses also use, in their wars, bows and arrows made of reeds, with heads of iron poisoned with the juice of a cucumber: whereof I have had many in my hands.

In their battles they have target men with broad wicker targets [*shields*], and darts with heads of iron at both ends: the one in form of a two-edged sword, a foot and a half long, and at the other end the iron of the same length, made to counterpoise it; that, in casting, it might fly level, rather than for any other purpose as I can judge. And when they espy the enemy, the Captain, to cheer his men, crieth, *Hungry!* and they answer *Heygre!* and with that, every man placeth himself in order. For about every target man, three bowmen will cover themselves; and shoot as they see advantage: and when they give the onset, they make such terrible cries that they may be heard two miles off.

For their belief, I can hear of none that they have, but in such as they themselves imagine to see in their dreams; and so worship the pictures, whereof we saw some like unto devils.

In this island aforesaid, we sojourned unto the 21st of December, where, having taken certain Negroes, and as much of their fruit, rice, and mill as we could well carry away (whereof there was such store that we might have laden one of our barks therewith) we departed.

And, at our departure, divers of our men [*i.e.*, *of the* Jesus] being desirous to go on shore to fetch pompions (which having proved, they had found to be very good) certain of the *Tiger*'s men went also: amongst the which, there was a Carpenter, a young man. Who, with his fellows, having fetched many, and carried them down to their boats; as they were ready to depart, desired his fellows "to tarry while he might

go up to fetch a few, which he had laid by for himself," who, being more licorous [*gluttonous*] than circumspect, went up without his weapon. And as he went up alone, possibly being marked of the Negroes that were upon the trees, they, espying him to be alone and without weapon, dogged him; and finding him occupied in binding his pompions together, came behind him; and overthrowing him, straight cut his throat: as he, afterwards, was found by his fellows, who came to the place for him; and there found him naked.

The 22nd, the Captain went into a river, called Callowsa, with the two barks, the *Jesus*'s pinnace, and the *Solomon*'s boat; leaving at anchor, in the river's mouth, the two ships: where the Portuguese rode in the river,, being twenty leagues in. He came thither the 25th, and despatched his business; and so returned, with two caravels laden with Negroes.

The 27th, the Captain, being advertised by the Portuguese of a town of the Negroes, called Bimba, being in the way as they returned; where was not only great quantity of gold, but also there were not above forty men, and a hundred women and children in the town, so that if he would give the adventure upon the same, he might get a hundred slaves. With the which tidings, he being glad (because the Portuguese should not think him to be of so base a courage, but that he durst give them that, and greater attempts; and being thereunto, also, the more provoked with the prosperous success he had in other adjacent islands, where he had put them all to flight, and taken in one boat twenty together), determined to stay before the town three or four hours, to see what he could do. And thereupon prepared his men in armour and weapon, together, to the number of forty men, well appointed, having for their guides certain Portuguese in a boat: who brought some of them to their death.

We landing, boat after boat, and divers of our men scattering themselves (contrary to the Captain's will) by one or two in a company, for the hope they had to find gold in their houses, ransacking the same; in the meantime, the Negroes came upon them, and hurt many, being thus scattered; whereas, if five or six had been together, they had been able (as their companions did) to give the overthrow to forty of them. Being driven down to take their boats, they were

followed so hardly by a rout of Negroes (who, by that, took courage to pursue them to their boats) that not only some of them, but others standing on shore, not looking for any such matter (by means that the Negroes did flee at the first, and our company remained in the town) were suddenly so set upon, that some, with great hurt, recovered their boats: other some, not able to recover the same, took to the water, and perished by means of the ooze.

While this was doing; the Captain, who, with a dozen men, went through the town, returned; finding two hundred Negroes at the water's side, shooting at them in the boats, and cutting them in pieces that were drowned in the water: at whose coming, they all ran away.

So he entered his boats; and before he could put off from the shore, they returned again, and shot very fiercely, and hurt divers of them.

Thus we returned back, somewhat discomforted; although the Captain, in a singular wise manner, carried himself, with countenance very cheerful outwardly, as though he did little weigh the death of his men, nor yet the hurt of the rest (although his heart inwardly was broken in pieces for it): done to this end, that the Portuguese being with him, should not presume to resist against him, nor take occasion to put him to further displeasure or hindrance for the death of our men; having gotten, by our going, ten Negroes, and lost seven of our best men (whereof Master FIELD, Captain of the *Solomon* was one) and had twenty-seven of our men hurt.

In the same hour, while this was adoing, there happened, at the same instant, a marvellous miracle to them in the ships, who rode ten leagues to the seaward, by many sharks or *tiburons*, which came about the ships: one was taken by the *Jesus*, and four by the *Solomon;* and one, very sore hurt, escaped. And so it fell out with our men [*i.e.*, *at Bimba*], whereof one of the *Jesus*'s men, and four of the *Solomon*'s were killed, and the fifth, having twenty wounds, was rescued, and escaped with much ado.

The 28th, they came to their ships, the *Jesus* and the *Solomon*.

And the 30th, they departed from thence to Taggarin.

The 1st of January [1565], the two barks, and both the

boats forsook the ships, and went into a river called the Casseroes: and the 6th, having despatched their business, the two barks returned, and came to Taggarin where the two ships were at anchor.

Not two days after the coming of the two ships thither [*i.e., 2nd January*] they put their water caske [*casks*] ashore, and filled it with water, to season the same: thinking to have filled it with fresh water afterwards. And while their men were some on shore, and some at their boats; the Negroes set upon them in their boats, and hurt divers of them; and came to the casks, and cut the hoops of twelve butts, which lost us four or five days' time, besides great want we had of the same.

Sojourning at Taggarin, the *Swallow* went up the river, about her traffic; where they saw great towns of the Negroes, and canoes that had threescore men in apiece.

There, they understood by the Portuguese, of a great battle between them of Sierra Leone side, and them of Taggarin. They of Sierra Leone had prepared three hundred canoes to invade the other.

The time was appointed, not past six days after our departure from thence: which we would [*wished to*] have seen, to the intent we might have taken some of them; had it not been for the death and sickness of our men, which came by the contagiousness of the place; which made us to haste away.

The 18th of January, at night, we departed from Taggarin; being bound for the West Indies. Before which departure, certain of the *Solomon*'s men went on shore to fill water, in the night; and as they came on shore, with their boat, being ready to leap on land, one of them espied a negro in a white coat, standing on a rock, ready to have received them when they came on shore; having in sight, also, eight or nine of his fellows, some leaping out in one place and some in another; but they hid themselves straight [*immediately*] again. Whereupon our men doubting [*fearing*] they had been a great company, and sought to have taken them at more advantage, (as GOD would!) departed to their ships: not thinking there had been such mischief pretended to them, as there was indeed; which, the next day, we understood of a Portuguese that came down to us, who had traffic with the Negroes.

By whom, we understood, that the King of Sierra Leone had made all the power he could, to take some of us. Partly for the desire he had to see what kind of people we were, that had spoiled his people at the Idols, whereof he had news before our coming; and, as I judge, also upon other occasions, provoked by the Tangomangoes. But sure we were, that the army was come down: by means that, in the evening, we saw such a monstrous fire made by the watering place, that was not seen before; which fire is the only mark for the Tangomangoes, to know where their army always is.

If these men had come down in the evening, they had done us great displeasure; for that we were on shore filling water. But GOD (who worketh all things for the best) would not have it so; and by Him, we escaped without danger. His name be praised for it!

The 19th of this same month, we departed with all our ships, from Sierra Leone towards the West Indies; and for the space of twenty-eight days, we were becalmed, having now and then contrary winds and some tornadoes amongst the same calm, which happened to us very ill: being but reasonably watered for so great a company of Negroes and ourselves, which pinched us all; and that which was worst, put us in such fear that many never thought to have reached to the Indies, without great death of Negroes and of themselves. But the Almighty GOD (who never suffereth His elect to perish!) sent us the 16th of February, the ordinary breeze, which is the North-west wind, which never left us, till we came to an island of the cannibals, called Dominica; where we arrived the 9th [*? 10th*] of March, upon a Saturday. And because it was the most desolate place in all the island, we could see no cannibals; but some of their houses where they dwelled; and as it should seem, they had forsaken the place for want of fresh water; for we could find none there but rain water, and such as fell from the hills and remained as a puddle in the dale; whereof we filled for our Negroes [!].

The cannibals of that island, and also others adjacent, are the most desperate warriors that are in the Indias, by the Spaniards' report; who are never able to conquer them; and they are molested by them not a little, when they are driven to water there in any of those islands.

Of very late, not two months past, in the said island, a caravel being driven to water, was, in the night, set upon by the inhabitants; who cut their cable in the hawser, whereby they were driven ashore, and so taken by them and eaten.

The *Green Dragon* of Newhaven [*Hâvre*], whereof was Captain, one Bontemps, in March [1565], also, came to one of those islands, called Grenada; and being driven to water, could not do the same for the cannibals, who fought with him very desperately two days.

For our part also, if we had not lighted upon the desertest place in all that island, we could not have missed; but should have been greatly troubled by them, by all the Spaniards' reports, who make them devils in respect of men.

The 10th day, at night, we departed from thence, and the 15th, had sight of nine islands called the Testigos; and the 16th, of an island called Margarita, where we were entertained by the Alcade, and had both beeves and sheep given us, for the refreshing of our men. But the Governor of the island would neither come to speak with our Captain, neither yet give him any license to traffic: and to displease us the more, whereas we had hired a Pilot to have gone with us, they would not only not suffer him to go with us, but also sent word by a caravel, out of hand, to Santo Domingo, to the Viceroy, who doth represent the King's person, of our arrival in those parts. Which had like to have turned us to great displeasure, by the means that the same Viceroy did send word to Cape de la Vela, and to other places along the coast, commanding them (by the virtue of his authority and by the obedience that they owe to their Prince) that no man should traffic with us, but should resist us with all the force they could.

In this island, notwithstanding that we were not within four leagues of the town; yet were they so afraid, that not only the Governor himself but also all the inhabitants forsook their town, assembling all the Indians to them, and fled into the mountains: as we were partly certified, and saw the experience ourselves, by some of the Indians coming to see us; when three Spaniards a horseback passing hard by us, went unto the Indians (having every one of them their bows and arrows), procuring them away, who before were conversant with us.

Here perceiving no traffic to be had with them, not yet water for the refreshing of our men; we were driven to depart the 20th day.

And the 22nd, we came to a place in the Main, called Cumana: whither the Captain going in his pinnace, spake with certain Spaniards, of whom he demanded traffic.

But they made him answer, "They were but soldiers newly come thither, and were not able to buy one Negro."

Whereupon he asked for a watering place, and they pointed him a place two leagues off, called Santa Fe: where we found marvellous goodly watering, and commodious for the taking in thereof; for that the fresh water came into the sea, and so our ships had, aboard the shore, twenty fathoms water. Near about this place inhabited certain Indians, who, the next day after we came thither, came down to us; presenting mill, and cakes of bread, which they had made of a kind of corn called Maize, in bigness of a pea, the ear whereof is much like to a teasel, but a span in length, having thereon a number of grains. Also they brought down to us hens, potatoes, and pines, which we bought for beads, pewter whistles, glasses, knives, and other trifles.

These potatoes be the most delicate roots that may be eaten; and do far exceed our parsnips or carrots. Their pines be of the bigness of two fists, the outside whereof is of the making of a pine apple, but it is soft like the rind of a cucumber; and the inside eateth like an apple, but it is more delicious than any sweet apple sugared.

These Indians be of colour tawny, like an olive; having every one of them, both men and women, hair all black, and no other colour; the women wearing the same hanging down to their shoulders, and the men rounded, and without beards: neither men or women suffering any hair to grow in any part of their body, but daily pull it off as it groweth.

These people be very small feeders: for travelling, they carry but two small bottles of gourds, wherein they put in one the juice of sorrel whereof they have great store; and in the other flour of their maize, which being moist, they eat, taking sometimes of the other. These men carry every man his bow and arrows; whereof some arrows are poisoned for wars, which they keep in a cane together, which cane is of

the bigness of a man's arm: other some with broad heads of iron, wherewith they strike fish in the water. The experience whereof, we saw not once nor twice, but daily, for the time we tarried there. For they are so good archers, that the Spaniards, for fear thereof, arm themselves and their horses with quilted canvas of two inches thick, and leave no place of their bodies open to their enemies, saving their eyes which they may not hide; and yet oftentimes are they hit in that so small a scantling. Their poison is of such a force, that a man being stricken therewith, dieth within four and twenty hours, as the Spaniards do affirm: and, in my judgement, it is likely there can be no stronger poison, as they make it, using thereunto apples which are very fair and red of colour, but are a strong poison; with the which, together with venemous bats and vipers, adders and other serpents, they make a medley, and therewith anoint the same.

The beds which they have, are made of gossapine cotton, and wrought artificially of divers colours; which they carry about with them when they travel, and making the same fast to two trees, lie therein. The people be surely gentle and tractable, and such as desire to live peaceable; or else had it been impossible for the Spaniards to have conquered them as they did, and the more to live now peaceably: they being so many in number, and the Spaniards so few.

From thence, we departed the 28th; and the next day, we passed between the mainland and the island called Tortuga, (a very low island) in the year of our Lord GOD 1565 aforesaid: and sailed along the coast until the 1st of April; at which time, the Captain sailed along in the *Jesus*'s pinnace to discern the coast, and saw many Caribs on shore, and some also in their canoes: which made tokens unto him of friendship, and shewed gold, meaning thereby that they would traffic for wares.

Whereupon he stayed, to see the manner of them; and so for two or three trifles, they gave such things as they had about them, and departed.

But the Caribs were very importunate to have them come on shore; which, if it had not been for want of wares to traffic with them, he would not have denied them: because the Indians which we saw before, were very gentle people, and

such as do no man hurt. But (as GOD would have it!) he wanted that thing, which, if he had had, would have been his confusion. For these were no such kind of people as we took them to be; but more devilish a thousand parts, and are eaters and devourers of any man they can catch. As it was afterwards declared unto us at Burboroata, by a caravel coming out of Spain with certain soldiers and a Captain General, sent by the King for those eastward parts of the Indias. Who sailing along in a pinnace, as our Captain did, to descry the coast, was by the Caribs called ashore, with sundry tokens made to him of friendship, and gold shewed as though they desired to traffic: with the which the Spaniards being moved, suspecting no deceit at all, went ashore amongst them. The Captain was no sooner ashore, but with four or five more was taken; the rest of his company being invaded by them, saved themselves by flight: but they that were taken, paid their ransom with their lives, and were presently [*at once*] eaten. And this is their practice to toll [*decoy*] with their gold, the ignorant to their snares. They are blood-suckers of Spaniards, Indians, and all that light in their laps: not sparing their own countrymen if they can conveniently come by them.

Their policy in fight with the Spaniards is marvellous. For they choose for their refuge, the mountains and woods; where the Spaniards, with their horses, cannot follow them: and if they fortune to be met in the plain, where one horseman may overrun a hundred of them; they have a device, of late practised by them, to pitch stakes of wood in the ground, and also small iron pikes, to mischief their horses; wherein they shew themselves politic warriors.

They have more abundance of gold than all the Spaniards have, and live upon the mountains where the mines are, in such number, that the Spaniards have much ado to get any of them from them. And yet, sometimes, by assembling a great number of men, which happeneth once in two years, they get a piece from them; which afterwards they keep sure enough.

Thus having escaped the danger of them; we kept our course along the coast, and came the 3rd of April, to a town called Burboroata [? *La Guayra, or near it*]; where his ships came to

an anchor, and the Captain himself went ashore to speak with the Spaniards. To whom, he declared himself to be an Englishman, and came thither to trade with them, by the way of merchandise; and therefore required license for the same.

Unto whom, they made answer, that "They were forbidden by the King to traffic with any foreign nation, upon penalty to forfeit their goods." Therefore they desired him "not to molest them any further; but to depart as he came! for other comfort he might not look for at their hands: because they were subjects, and might not go beyond the law."

But he replied, "His necessity was such, as he might not do so. For being in one of the Queen of England's *Armados*, and having many soldiers in them; he had need of some refreshing for them, and of victuals, and of money also: without the which, he could not depart." And, with much other talk, persuaded them not to fear any dishonest part on his behalf towards them; for neither would he commit any such thing to the dishonour of his Prince, nor yet for his honest reputation and estimation, unless he were too rigorously dealt withal, which he hoped not to find at their hands: in that it should as well redound to their profit as his own, and also he thought they might do it without danger; because their Princes were in amity one with another, and for our parts, we had free traffic in Spain and Flanders which are in his dominions; and therefore he knew no reason why he should not have the like in all his dominions.

To the which, the Spaniards made an answer, that "It lay not in them, to give any license; for that they had a Governor to whom the government of those parts was committed; but if they would stay ten days, they would send to their Governor, who was threescore leagues off; and would, within the space appointed, return answer of his mind."

In the meantime, they were contented he should bring his ships into harbour; and there they would deliver him any victuals he would require.

Whereupon, the fourth day, we went in, where, being one day, and receiving all things according to promise, the Captain advised himself that to remain there ten days idle, spending victuals and men's wages; and perhaps, in the end, receive no good answer from the Governor, it were mere folly, were mere folly: and therefore determined to make

request to have license for the sale of certain lean and sick Negroes, which he had in his ship, like[ly] to die upon his hands, if he kept them ten days; having little or no refreshing for them, whereas other men having them, they would be recovered well enough. And this request he was forced to make, because he had no otherwise wherewith to pay for victuals and for necessaries which he should take.

Which request being put in writing, and presented, the Officers and town dwellers assembled together; and finding his request so reasonable, granted him license for thirteen Negroes: which, afterwards, they cause the Officers to view, to the intent they should grant to nothing but that which were very reasonable, for fear of answering thereunto afterwards.

This being past, our Captain, according to their license, thought to have made sale; but the day passed, and none came to buy, who before made shew that they had great need of them: and therefore he wist not what to surmise of them, whether they went about to prolong the time of the Governor's answer, because they would keep themselves blameless; or for any other policy he knew not. And for that purpose, sent them word, marvelling what the matter was, that none came to buy them.

They answered, "Because they had granted license only to the poor to buy those Negroes of small price; and their money was not so ready as other men's of more wealth. More than that. As soon as ever they saw the ships; they had conveyed away their money by their wives that went into the mountains for fear, and were not yet returned: and yet asked two days, to seek their wives, and fetch their money."

Notwithstanding, the next day, divers of them came to cheapen; but could not agree of price, because they thought the price too high.

Whereupon the Captain (perceiving they went about to bring down the price, and meant to buy; and would not confess, if he had license, that he might sell at any reasonable rate, as they were worth in other places), did send for the principals of the town, and made a shew he would depart, declaring himself "to be very sorry that he had so much troubled them, and also that he had sent for the Governor to

come down; seeing now his pretence [*intention*] was to depart": whereat they marvelled much, and asked him, "What cause moved him thereunto seeing, by their working, he was in possibility to have his license?"

To which, he replied that "It was not only a license that he sought, but profit; which he perceived was not to be had there; and therefore would seek farther": and withal shewed them his writings, what he paid for his Negroes; declaring also the great charge he was at, in his shipping and men's wages, and, therefore, to countervail his charges, he must sell his Negroes for a greater price than they offered.

So they, doubting [*fearing*] his departure, put him in comfort to sell better there than in any other place: and if it fell out that he had no license, that he should lose his labour in tarrying, for they would buy without license.

Whereupon, the Captain being put in comfort, promised them to stay, so that he might make sale of his lean Negroes; which they granted unto: and the next day did sell some of them.

They having bought and paid for them, thinking to have had a discharge of the Customer [*Farmer of the Customs*] for the custom[*import duty*] of the Negroes, being the King's duty; they gave it away to the poor, for GOD's sake; and did refuse to give the discharge in writing: and the poor, not trusting their words, for fear lest, hereafter, it might be demanded of them, did refrain from buying any more. So nothing else was done until the Governor's coming down; which was the 14th day [*i.e., of April*].

Then the Captain made petition, declaring that "He was come thither in a ship of the Queen's Majesty of England, being bound to Guinea; and thither driven by wind and weather: so that being come thither, he had need of sundry necessaries for the reparation of the said Navy, and also great need of money for the payment of his soldiers, unto whom he had promised payment; and therefore although he would, yet would not they depart without it. And for that purpose, he requested license for the sale of certain of his Negroes; declaring that though they were forbidden to traffic with strangers: yet for that there was great amity between their Princes, and that the thing pertained to our Queen's Highness; he thought he might do their Prince great service,

and that it would be well taken at his hands, to do it in this cause."

The which allegations, with divers others put in request, were presented unto the Governor; who sitting in council for that matter, granted unto his request for license.

But yet there fell out another thing, which was the abating of the King's custom; being upon every slave, 30 ducats [5*s.* 6*d.* *each*=£8 5*s.*=*about* £66 *now*]: which would not be granted unto.

Whereupon the Captain perceiving that they would neither come near his price, he looked for, by a great deal; not yet would abate the King's custom of that they offered; so that either he must be a great loser by his wares, or else compel the Officers to abate the same King's custom, which was too unreasonable (for to a higher price he could not bring the buyer): therefore the 16th of April, he prepared 100 men, well armed with bows, arrows, harquebusses, and pikes; with the which he marched to the townwards.

Being perceived by the Governor, he straight, with all expedition, sent messengers to know his request, desiring him "to march no further forward until he had answer again, which incontinent he should have."

So our Captain declaring "how unreasonable a thing the King's custom was, requested to have the same abated and to pay $7\frac{1}{2}$ *per centum*, which is the ordinary custom for wares through his Dominions there; and unto this, if they would not grant, he would displease them."

And this word being carried to the Governor; answer was returned that "all things should be to his content."

Thereupon he determined to depart; but the soldiers and mariners finding so little credit in their promises, demanded gages for the performance of the promises, or else they would not depart. And thus they being constrained to send their gages; we departed, beginning our traffic, and ending the same without disturbance.

Thus having made traffic in the harbour until the 28th; our Captain with his ships intended to go out of the road and purposed to make shew of his departure; because now the common sort having employed their money, the rich men were come to town, who made no shew that they were come to buy, so that they went about to bring down the price; and by his

policy the Captain knew they would be made the more eager, for fear lest we departed, and they should go without any at all.

The 29th, we being at anchor without the road, a French ship called the *Green Dragon* of Newhaven [*Hâvre*]; whereof was Captain one BONTEMPS, came in: who saluted us after the manner of the sea, with certain pieces of ordnance; and we saluted him with the like again.

With whom, having communication; he declared that he had been at the Mine [*El Mina*] in Guinea, and was beaten off by the Portuguese galleys, and enforced to come thither [*Burboroata*] to make sale of such wares [*i.e., Negroes*] as he had: and further that the like was happened with the *Minion*. Besides [which], the Captain DAVID CARLET and a Merchant [*Supercargo*], with a dozen mariners [had been] betrayed by the Negroes at their first arrival thither, and remained prisoners with the Portugals; besides other misadventures of the loss of their men happened, through the great lack of fresh water, with great doubts of bringing home the ships. Which was most sorrowful for us to understand.

Thus having ended our traffic here, the 4th of May; we departed, leaving the Frenchman behind us.

The night before the which, the Caribs, whereof I made mention before, being to the number of two hundred, came in their canoes to Burboroata, intending by night to have burned the town and taken the Spaniards, who being more vigilant (because of our being there) than their custom was: perceiving them coming, raised the town; who, in a moment, being a horseback (by means [that] their custom is, for all doubts, to keep their horses ready saddled, in the night), set upon them and took one; but the rest making shift for themselves, escaped away. This one, because he was their guide, and was the occasion that divers times they had made invasion upon them, had for this travail a stake thrust through him, and so out at his neck.

The 6th of May aforesaid, we came to an island called Curaçao, where we had thought to have anchored; but could not find ground, and having let fall an anchor with two cables were fain to weigh it again: and the 7th, sailing along the coast to seek a harbour, and finding none, we came to an anchor where we rode open in the sea. In this place, we

had traffic for hides, and found great refreshing both of beef, mutton, and lambs; whereof there was such plenty that saving the skins, we had the flesh given us for nothing. The plenty whereof was so abundant, that the worst in the ship thought scorn not only of mutton, but also of sodden lamb, which they disdained to eat unroasted.

The increase of cattle in this island is marvellous; which, from a dozen of each sort brought thither by the Governor, in 25 years [*i.e.*, *about* 1540], he had a hundred thousand, at the least: and of other cattle was able to kill, without spoil of the increase, 1,500 yearly, which he killeth for the skins; and of the flesh saveth only the tongues, the rest he leaveth to the fowl [*birds*] to devour. And this I am able to affirm, not only upon the Governor's own report (who was the first that brought the increase thither) who so remaineth unto this day: but also by that I saw myself in one field; where a hundred oxen lay one by another, all whole, saving the skin and tongue taken away.

And it is not so marvellous a thing, why they do thus cast away the flesh in all the islands of the West Indies, seeing the land is great, and more than they are able to inhabit; the people few, having delicate fruits and meats enough besides to feed upon, which they rather desire; and the increase of cattle which passeth man's reason to believe, when they come to a great number.

For in Santo Domingo (an island called by the finders thereof, Hispaniola) is so great a quantity of cattle, and such increase thereof, that, notwithstanding the daily killing of them for their hides, it is not possible to assuage the number of them, but they are devoured by wild dogs, whose number is such (by suffering first to range the woods and mountains), that they eat and destroy 60,000 a year; and yet small lack is found of them. And, no marvel! for the said island is almost as big as all England, and being the first place that was found of all the Indies, and of long time inhabited before the rest, it ought therefore, of reason, to be the most populous; and, to this hour, the Viceroy and the Council Royal abideth there, as in the chiefest place of all the Indies, to prescribe orders to the rest, for the King's behalf: yet they have but one city and thirteen villages in all the same island, whereby the spoil of the cattle, in respect of the increase, is nothing.

The 15th of the foresaid month, we departed from Curaçao; not a little to the rejoicing of our Captain and us, that we had there ended our traffic [*i.e., in hides*]. But notwithstanding our sweet meat, we had sour sauce! For, by reason of our riding [in] so open a sea: what with blasts (wherewith our anchors, being aground, three at once came home), and also with contrary winds blowing (whereby, for fear of the shore, we were fain to haul off to have anchor hold) sometimes a whole day and a night, we turned [*tacked*] up and down. And this happened not once, but half a dozen times, in the space of our being there.

The 16th, we passed by an island, called Aruba [*Oruba*]. The 17th, at night, we anchored six hours, at the west end of Cape de la Vela: and, in the morning, being the 18th, weighed again, keeping our course. In the which time, the Captain sailing by the shore in the pinnace, came to the Rancheria, a place where the Spaniards used to fish for pearls; and there spoke with a Spaniard, who told him how far off he was from Rio de la Hacha: which, because he would not overshoot, he anchored that night again. And the 19th, came thither.

Where, having talk with the King's Treasurer of the Indies, resident there, he declared his quiet traffic at Burboroata; and shewed a certificate of the same, made by the Governor thereof: and therefore he desired to have the like there also.

But the Treasurer made answer that "They were forbidden by the Viceroy and Council at Santo Domingo; who having intelligence of our being on the coast, did send express commission to resist us with all the force they could, insomuch that they durst not traffic with us in any case," alleging that "If they did, they should lose all that they did traffic for; besides their bodies at the Magistrate's commandment."

Our Captain replied, that "He was in an *Armado* of the Queen's Majesty's of England, and sent about her other affairs; but driven besides his pretended [*intended*] voyage, was enforced by contrary winds to come into those parts, where he hoped to find such friendship as he should do in Spain: to the contrary whereof, he knew no reason, in that there was amity betwixt their Princes. But seeing they would, contrary to all reason, go about to withstand his

traffic; it should not be said by [*of*] him, that 'having the force he hath, to be driven from his traffic, perforce,' but he would rather put it in adventure, to try whether he or they should have the better: and, therefore, willed them, to determine either to give him license to trade, or else to stand to their own harms!"

So upon this, it was determined, "He should have license to trade; but they would give him such a price as was the one half less than he had sold for before:" and thus they sent word they would do, and none otherwise, and "If it liked him not, he might do what he would! for they were determined not to deal otherwise with him."

Whereupon, the Captain weighing their unconscionable request, wrote to them a letter, that "they dealt too rigorously with him! to go about to cut his throat in the price of his commodities; which were so reasonably rated, as they could not, by a great deal, have the like at any other man's hands. But seeing they had sent him this, for his supper; he would, in the morning, bring them as good a breakfast!"

And therefore, in the morning, being the 21st of May, he shot off a whole-culverin, to summon the town: and, preparing 100 men in armour, went ashore; having in his great boat, two falcons of brass, and in the other boats, double-bases in their noses [*bows*].

Which being perceived by the townsmen, they, incontinent, in battle array, with their drum, and ensign [*colours*] displayed, marched from the town to the sands, to the number of 150 footmen, making great brags by their cries, and weaving [*waving*] us ashore; whereby they made a semblance to have fought with us indeed.

But our Captain perceiving them to brag so, commanded the two falcons to be discharged at them, which put them in no small fear (as they afterwards declared) to see such great pieces in a boat. At every shot, they fell flat to the ground; and as we approached near unto them, they broke their array, and dispersed themselves so much for fear of the ordnance, that, at last, they all went away with their ensign.

The horsemen, also, being about 30, made as brave a shew as might be; coursing up and down, with their horses, their brave white leather targets in the one hand, and their javelins in the other: as though they would have received us, at our

landing. But when we landed, they gave ground, and consulted what they should do: for they little thought we would have landed so boldly.

And therefore, as the Captain was putting his men in array, and marching forward to have encountered with them; they sent a messenger on horseback, with a flag of truce, to the Captain: who declared that "the Treasurer marvelled what he meant to do, to come ashore in that order; in consideration that they had granted to every reasonable request that he did demand!"

But the Captain, not well contented with this messenger, marched forwards.

The messenger prayed him to stay his men; and said, "If he would come apart from his men, the Treasurer would come and speak to him!" whereunto he did agree to commune together.

The Captain, only with his armour, without weapon; and the Treasurer on horseback, with his javelin: who was afraid to come near him, for fear of "his armour, which," he said, "was worse than his weapon!" And so keeping aloof, communing together, the Treasurer, granted, in fine, all his requests.

Which being declared by the Captain to the company they desired "to have pledges for the performance of all things," doubting [*fearing*] that otherwise, when they had made themselves stronger, they would have been at defiance with us: and seeing that, now, they might have what they would request, they judged it to be more wisdom to be in assurance than to be forced to make any more labours about it.

So, upon this, gages were sent, and we made our traffic quietly with them.

In the meantime, while we stayed here, we watered a good breadth off from the shore; where, by the strength of the fresh water, running into the sea, the salt water was made fresh.

In this river, we saw many crocodiles, of sundry bignesses, but some as big as a boat, with four feet, a long broad mouth, and a long tail; whose skin is so hard, that a sword will not pierce it. His nature is to live out of the water, as a frog doth: but he is a great devourer, and spareth neither fish (which is his common food), nor beasts, nor men, if he take them: as the proof thereof was known by a Negro, who, as

he was filling water in the river, was by one of them, carried clean away, and never seen after.

His nature is ever, when he would have his prey, to cry and sob like a Christian body; to provoke [*entice*] them to come to him: and then he snatcheth at them! And, thereupon, came this proverb, that is applied unto women, when they weep, *Lachrymæ Crocodili*: the meaning whereof is, that as the crocodile when he crieth, goeth them about most to deceive; so doth a woman, most commonly, when she weepeth.

Of these, the Master of the *Jesus* watched one; and by the bank's side, struck him, with the pike of a bill, in the side; which, after three or four times turning in sight, sank down, and was not afterwards seen.

In the time of our being in the rivers of Guinea, we saw many of a monstrous bigness: amongst the which, the Captain being in one of the barks coming down the same, shot a falcon at one, which he very narrowly missed, that, with a fear, plunged into the water, making a stream, like the "way" of a boat.

Now while we were here, whether it were of a fear that the Spaniards doubted [*feared*], we would have done them some harm before we departed; or for any treason that they pretended towards us, I am not able to say: but then, came thither a Captain with a dozen soldiers, from some of the other towns, upon a time when our Captain and the Treasurer had cleared all things between them, and were in communication of a debt of the Governor's of Burboroata, which was to be paid by the said Treasurer; who would not answer the same by any means.

Whereupon certain words of displeasure passed betwixt the Captain and him; and parting [*separating*] the one from the other; the Treasurer possibly doubting that our Captain would, perforce, have sought the same, did immediately command his men to arms, both horsemen and footmen; but because [*and inasmuch*] as the Captain was in the river, on the back side of the town, with his other boats and all his men unarmed and without weapons, it was to be judged he meant him little good; having that advantage of him, that, coming upon the sudden, he might have mischiefed many of his men.

But the Captain having understanding thereof not (trusting

to their gentleness, if they might have the advantage), departed aboard his ships; and, at night, returned again: and demanded, amongst other talk, "What they meant by assembling their men, in that order?"

They answered, that "their Captain being come to town, did muster his men according to his accustomed manner."

But this is to be judged to be a cloak, in that, coming for that purpose, he might have done it sooner. But the truth is, they were not of force until then, whereby to enterprise any matter against us by means of pikes and harquebusses; whereof they had want and were now furnished by our Captain; and also three falcons which (having got in other places) they had secretly conveyed thither. These made them the bolder, and also for that they saw now a convenient place to do such a feat: and time also serving thereunto, by the means that our men were not only unarmed and unprovided (as at no time before), but also were occupied in hewing of wood, and least thinking of any harm. These were occasions to provoke them thereunto.

And I suppose they went about to bring it to effect, in that I* and another Gentleman being in the town, thinking of no harm towards us; and seeing men assembling in armour to the Treasurer's house, whereof we marvelled: and (revoking [*recalling to mind*] the former talk between the Captain and him, and the unreadiness of our men of whom advantage might have been taken) departed out of the town immediately, to give knowledge thereof. But before we came to our men by a flight-shot [*bow-shot*], two horsemen riding at gallop, were come near us (being sent, as we did guess, to stay us, lest we should carry the news to our Captain), but seeing us so near our men, they stayed their horses; coming together and suffering us to pass: belike because we were so near that if they had gone about the same, they had been espied by some of our men; which then would have immediately departed, whereby they would have been frustrate of their pretence.

* The Author of this story.

So the two horsemen rode about the bushes, to espy what we did. And seeing us gone, to the intent that they might shadow [*cover*] their coming down in post [*i.e., in post haste*]; whereof suspicion might be had, feigned a simple excuse, in asking, "Whether he could sell any wine?"

But that seemed so simple to the Captain, that, standing in doubt of their courtesy, he returned in the morning, with his three boats appointed with bases, [and falcons] in their noses; and his men with weapons accordingly: whereas, before, he carried none.

Thus dissembling all injuries conceived of both parts, the Captain went ashore, leaving pledges in the boats for himself, and cleared all things between the Treasurer and him, saving for the Governor's debt: which the one, by no means, would answer; and the other (because it was not his due debt), would not molest him for it, but was content to remit it until another time.

He therefore departed, causing the two barks which rode near the shore, to weigh and go under sail; which was done because that our Captain, demanding a testimony of his good behaviour there, could not have the same until he were under sail, ready to depart. And therefore, at night, he went for the same again, and received it at the Treasurer's hand; of whom, very courteously, he took his leave, and departed, shooting off the base of his boat, for his farewell: and the townsmen also shot off four falcons and thirty harquebusses, and this was the first time that he knew of the conveyance of their falcons.

The 31st of May, we departed, keeping our course to Hispaniola: and the 4th June, we had sight of an island, which we made to be Jamaica; marvelling that, by the vehement course [*current*] of the seas, we should be driven so far to leeward. For setting our course to the west end of Hispaniola, we fell with the middle of Jamaica; notwithstanding that to all men's sight, it shewed a headland: but they were all deceived by the clouds that lay upon the land two days together, in such sort, that we thought it to be the headland of the said island.

And a Spaniard being in the ship, who was a merchant, and an inhabitant in Jamaica (having occasion to go to Guinea, and being, by treason, taken of the Negroes, and afterwards bought by the Tangomangoes, was by our Captain, brought from thence; and had his passage to go into his country), perceiving the land, made as though he knew every

place thereof, and pointed to certain places, which he named to be such a place! and such a man's ground! and that behind such a point, was the harbour! but, in the end, he pointed so from one point to another, that we were a leeboard of all places; and found ourselves at the west end of Jamaica, before we were aware of it; and being once to leeward, there was no getting up again.

So that, by trusting to the Spaniard's knowledge, our Captain sought not [*had no opportunity*] to speak with any of the inhabitants; which if he had not [thus] made himself so sure of, he would have done, as his custom was, in other places. But this man was a plague, not only to our Captain, whom he made to lose, by overshooting the place, £2,000 [=*about* £16,000 *now*] by hides, which he might have gotten; but also to himself. For having been three years out of his country, and in great misery in Guinea, both among the Negroes and Tangomangoes; and in hope to come to his wife and friends, as he made sure account: in that, at his going into the pinnace, when he went to shore, he put on his new clothes, and, for joy, flung away his old; he could not, afterwards, find any habitation, neither there, nor in all Cuba, which we sailed along; but it fell out ever, by one occasion or other, that we were put besides the same. So that, he was fain to be brought into England. And it happened to him, as it did to a duke of Samaria, when the Israelites were besieged, and were in great misery with hunger; and being told by the prophet Elisha, that "a bushel of flour should be sold for a shekel," would not believe him, but thought it impossible: and for that cause, Elisha prophesied "He should see the same done, but he should not eat thereof!" So this man, being absent three years, and not ever thinking to have seen his own country; did see the same! went upon it! and yet was it not his fortune, to come to it! or to any habitation whereby to remain with his friends, according to his desire!

Thus, having sailed along the coast, two days, we departed the 7th June; being made to believe by the Spaniard, that it was not Jamaica, but rather Hispaniola; of which opinion, the Captain also was, because that which he made Jamaica seemed to be but a piece of the land, and thereby took it rather to be Hispaniola, by the lying of the coast; and alsc

for that being ignorant of the force of the current, he could not believe he was so far driven to leeward.

And therefore setting his course to Jamaica, and after certain days not finding the same; he perceived then certainly that the island which he was at before, was Jamaica; and that the clouds did deceive him: whereof he marvelled not a little.

And this mistaking of the place came to as ill a pause as the overshooting of Jamaica. For by this, did he also overpass a place in Cuba, called Santa Cruz; where, as he was informed, was a great store of hides to be had.

Thus being disappointed of his two ports; where he thought to have raised great profit by his traffic, and also to have found great refreshing of victuals and water for his men: he was now greatly disappointed.

And such want had he of fresh water, that he was forced to seek the shore, to obtain the same. Which, after certain days overpassed with storms and contrary winds, he had sight of; but yet not of the main[land] of Cuba, but of certain islands, two hundred in number, whereof the most part were desolate of inhabitants.

By the which islands, the Captain passing in his pinnace, could find no fresh water, until he came to an island bigger than all the rest, called the Isle of Pines [*I. de Pinos*], where we anchored with our ships, the 16th of June, and found water. Which although it were neither so toothsome as running water, by means it was standing and but the water of rain, and also, being near the sea, was brackish: yet did ve not refuse it; but were more glad thereof, as the time then required, than we should have been, another time, with fine conduit water.

Thus, being reasonably watered, we were desirous to depart: because the place was not very convenient for such ships of charge [*big vessels*] as they were, as there were many shoals to leeward; and it also lay open to the sea, for any wind that should blow. Therefore, the Captain made the more haste away; which was not unneedful. For little sooner [*scarce*] were their anchors weighed, and foresail set; but there arose such a storm that they had not much to spare in doubling of the shoals: and one of the barks, not being fully ready as the rest, was fain, for haste, to cut the cable in hawse, and lose both anchor and cable, to save herself.

Thus, the 17th of June, we departed.

On the 20th, we fell in with the west end of Cuba, called Cape St. Antonio; where, for the space of three days, we doubled along [*tacked*], till we came beyond the shoals which are twenty leagues beyond St. Antonio.

And the ordinary brise [*breeze*] taking us, which is the north-east wind, put us, the 24th, from the shore; and therefore we went to the north-west, to fetch wind; and also to the coast of Florida, to have the help of the current [*the Gulf Stream*], which was judged to have set to the eastward.

So the 29th, we found ourselves in 27° [*i.e., N. Lat., but still inside the Gulf of Mexico*]: and in the soundings of Florida, wherein we kept ourselves, the space of four days, sailing along the coast [*which was, however, Westward of the Fleet, not Eastward*] as near as we could, in ten or twelve fathom water: having, all the while, no sight of land.

The 5th of July, we had sight of certain islands of sand, called the *Tortugas*, which is low land, where the Captain went in, with his pinnace; and found such a number of birds that, in half an hour, he laded her with them; and, if there had been ten boats more, they might have done the like. These islands bear the name of Tortles [*turtle*], because of the number of them which there do breed: whose nature is, to live both in the water and also upon land, but breed only upon the shore, by making a great pit, wherein they lay eggs, to the number of three or four hundred, and covering them with sand, they are hatched by the heat of the sun; and by this means, cometh the great increase. Of these, we took very great ones, which have both back and belly all of bone of the thickness of an inch; the fish [*flesh*] whereof we proved, [it] eating much like veal: and finding a number of eggs in them, tasted also of them, but they did eat very sweetly.

Here we anchored six hours; and then a fair gale of wind springing: we weighed anchor, and made sail toward Cuba, whither we came the 6th day; and weathered as far as the Table, being a hill so called, because of the form thereof.

Here, we lay off and on all night, to keep that which we had gotten to windward; intending to have watered in the morning, if we could have done it; or else, if the wind had

come larger [*fuller*], to have plied to windward, to Havana; which is a harbour, whereunto all the Fleets of the Spaniards come, and do there tarry to have the company one of another.

This hill, we thinking to have been the Table, as it was indeed, made account that Havana was but eight leagues to windward. But, by the persuasions of a Frenchman, who made the Captain believe he knew the Table very well, and had been at Havana, and said that "It was not the Table! and that the Table was much higher, and nearer to the seaside! and that there was no plain ground to the Eastward, nor hills to the Westward; but all was contrary! and that behind the hills to the Westward was Havana!"

To which persuasion, credit being given by some, and they not of the worst; the Captain was persuaded to go to leeward: and so sailed along the 7th and 8th days, finding no habitation, nor no other Table. And then perceiving his folly to give ear to such praters, was not a little sorry: both because he did consider what time he should spend ere he could get so far to windward again (which would have been, with the weathering which we had, ten or twelve days' work; and what it would have been longer, he knew not); and, that which was worst, he had not above a day's water, and therefore, knew not what shift to make.

But in fine, because the want was such, that his men could not live without it; he determined to seek water; and to go further to leeward, to a place, as it is set in the Card [*chart*], called *Rio de los Puercos*. Which he was in doubt of, as to whether it were inhabited; and whether there were water or not, and whether (for the shoals) he might have such access with his ships, that he might conveniently take in the same.

And while we were in these troubles, and kept our way to the place aforesaid, Almighty GOD, our guide! (who would not suffer us to run into any further danger which we had been like to have incurred, if we had ranged the coast of Florida [*i.e., the West coast of the present State of Florida*], as we did before; which is so dangerous, by reports, that no ship escapeth, which cometh thither; as the Spaniards have very well proved the same) sent us, the 8th day, at night, a fair westerly wind. Whereupon the Captain and company consulting, determined not to refuse GOD's gift; but every

man was contented to pinch his own belly, whatsoever had happened [*might happen*].

And taking the said wind, we got the 9th day to the Table; and sailing the same night, unawares overshot Havana; at which place we thought to have watered. But the next day, not knowing that we had overshot the same, sailed along the coast, seeking it: and the 11th day, in the morning, by certain known marks, we understood that we had overshot it twenty leagues; in which coast ranging, we found no convenient watering place. Whereby there was no remedy, but to disembogue, and to water upon the coast of Florida [*i.e., to go out of the Gulf of Mexico, by the Gulf of Florida, into the Atlantic Ocean; and coast Northward along the East coast of the present State of Florida*]. For, to go farther to the Eastward, we could not for the shoals; which are very dangerous; and because the current [*the Gulf Stream*] shooteth to the North-east, we doubted [*feared*], by the force thereof, to set upon them, and therefore durst not approach them.

So making but reasonable way, the day aforesaid and all the night; the 12th day, in the morning, we fell in with the Islands upon the Cape of Florida [? *Florida Reefs*]; which we could scant [*scarcely*] double, by the means that fearing the shoals to the Eastward, and doubting the current coming out of the West, which was not of that force we made account of. For we felt little or none, till we fell with the Cape; and then felt such a current [*going North-east*] that, bearing all sails against the same [*i.e., Westward*], we were yet driven back again [at] a great pace.

The experience whereof, we had by the *Jesus*'s pinnace and the *Solomon*'s boat: which were sent the same day, in the afternoon, whiles the ships were becalmed, to see if they could find any water upon the islands aforesaid. Who spent a great part of the day in rowing thither, being farther off than they deemed it to be; and in the meantime, a fair gale of wind springing at sea, the ships departed, making a sign to them to come away. Who, although they saw them depart, because they were so near the shore, would not lose all the labour they had taken; but determined to keep their way, and see if there were any water to be had; making no account but to find the ships well enough.

But they spent so much time in filling the water which

they had found, that night was come before they could make an end: and having lost the sight of the ships, they rowed what they could; but were wholly ignorant which way they should seek them again, as indeed there was a more [*greater*] doubt, than they knew of.

For when they departed, the ships were in no current; but sailing but a mile further, they found one so strong, that, bearing all sails, it could not prevail against the same, but they were driven back.

Whereupon the Captain sent the *Solomon*, with the two barks, to bear near the shore, all night; because the current was a great deal less there: and to bear a light, with shooting off a piece [*gun*] now and then; to the intent, the boats might better know how to come to them.

The *Jesus* also bear a light in her topgallant, and also shot off a piece, now and then.

But the night passed, and the morning was come, being the 13th day, and no news could be heard of them. But the ship and barks ceased not to look still for them; yet they thought it was all in vain, by means they heard not of them all the night past: and therefore determined to tarry no longer seeking for them till noon; and if they heard no news then, they would depart to the *Jesus*, which, perforce, by the vehemency of the current, was carried almost out of sight.

But, as GOD would have it! the time being now come, and they having tacked about: in the pinnace's top, they had sight of them, and took them up. They in the boats, being to the number of one and twenty, having sight of the ships, and seeing them tacking about; whereas, before, at the first sight of them, they did greatly rejoice, were, now, in a greater perplexity than ever they were; for by this, they thought themselves utterly forsaken, whereas, before, they were in some hope to have found them.

Truly, GOD wrought marvellously for them! For they themselves, having no victuals but water, and being sore oppressed with hunger, were not of opinion to bestow any further time in seeking the ships than that present noon time. So that, if they had not, at that instant, espied them, they had gone to the shore to have made provision for victuals; and with such things as they could have gotten, either to have gone for that part of Florida where the Frenchmen were

planted [*the River of May*], which would have been very hard for them to have done, because they wanted victuals to bring them thither, being 120 leagues off; or else to have remained among the Floridans. At whose hands, they were put in comfort by a Frenchman who was with them (that had remained in Florida, at the first finding thereof, a whole year together) to receive victuals sufficient, and gentle entertainment, if need were for a year or two, until which time, GOD might have provided for them. But how contrary this would have fallen out to their expectations, it is not hard to judge; seeing those people of the Cape of Florida are of more savage and fierce nature, and more valiant than any of the rest: which the Spaniards well proved. Who, being 500 men, intended to land there: and few or none of them returned, but were enforced to forsake of the same. And of their cruelty; mention is made in the book of the *Decades*, of a friar, who taking upon him to persuade the people to subjection, was by them taken, and his skin cruelly pulled over his ears, and his flesh eaten.

In these islands, they, being ashore, found a dead man dried in a manner whole; with other heads and bodies of men. So that this sort of men are eaters of the flesh of men, as well as the cannibals.

But to return to our purpose.

The 14th day [of July], the ship and barks came to the *Jesus*, bringing news of the recovery of the men; which was not a little to the rejoicing of the Captain and the whole company. And so then, all together, they kept on their way along the coast of Florida.

The 15th day, they came to an anchor; and so from 26° to 30° 30′ where the French abode, ranging all along the coast; seeking for fresh water. Anchoring every night because we would overshoot no place of fresh water; and, in the day time, the Captain in the ship's pinnace sailing along the shore, went into every creek, speaking with divers of the Floridans, because he would understand where the French inhabited; and not finding them in 28° as it was declared unto him, marvelled thereat: and never left sailing along the coast till he found them; who inhabited in a river, by them called the River of May, standing in 30° and better.

In ranging along this coast, the Captain found it to be all an island; and therefore it is all low land, and very scant of fresh water; but the country was marvellously sweet with both marsh and meadow ground, and goodly woods among. There they found sorrel to grow as abundantly as grass; and, where their houses were, great store of maize and mill [*millet*], and grapes of great bigness, but of taste much like our English grapes. Also great plenty of deer, which came upon the sands before them.

The houses are not many together; for in one house, an hundred of them do lodge: they being made much like a great barn (and in strength not inferior to ours, for they have stanchions and rafters of whole trees, and are covered with Palmito leaves) having no place divided, but one small room for their king [*chief*] and queen.

In the midst of this house is a hearth, where they make great fires all night; and they sleep upon certain pieces of wood, hewn in for the bowing of their backs, and another place made high for their heads; which they put, one by another, all along the walls on both sides. In their houses they remain only in the nights; and in the day, they frequent the fields, where they dress their meat, and make provision for victuals; which they provide only for a meal from hand to mouth.

There is one thing to be marvelled at, the making of their fire; and not only they, but the Negroes do the same: which is made only by two sticks, rubbing them one against another; and this they may do, in any place they come [to], where they find sticks sufficient for the purpose.

In their apparel, the men only use deer skins, wherewith some use the same as garments to cover them before and behind: which skins are painted, some yellow and red, some black and russet; every man according to his own fancy.

They do not omit to paint their bodies also with curious knots or antique work, as every man, in his own fancy deviseth: which painting [*tattooing*], to make it continue the better, they use with a thorn to prick their flesh, and dent in the same, whereby the painting may have better hold. In their wars, they use a slighter colour of painting their faces, thereby to make themselves shew the more fierce; which, after their wars ended, they wash away again.

In their wars, they use bows and arrows, whereof their bows are made of a kind of yew, but blacker than ours; and, for the most part, passing the strength of the Negroes or Indians, for it is not greatly inferior to ours. Their arrows are also of a great length, but yet of reeds, like other Indians: but varying in two points, both in length, and also for nocks and feathers, which the others lack; whereby they shoot very steady. The heads of the same are vipers' teeth, bones of fishes, flint stones, piked points of knives which they having gotten of the Frenchmen, broke the same, and put the points of them in their arrows' heads. Some of them have their heads of silver; other some that have want of these, put in a kind of hard wood, notched, which pierceth as far as any of the rest.

In their fight, being in the woods, they use a marvellous policy for their own safeguard; which is, by clasping a tree in their arms, and yet shooting notwithstanding. This policy they used with the Frenchmen in their fight; whereby it appeareth that they are people of some policy: and although they are called by the Spaniards, *Gente triste*, that is to say, "Bad people," meaning thereby, that they are not men of capacity; yet have the Frenchmen found them so witty in their answers, that by their Captain's own report, a Councillor with us could not give a more profound reason.

The women, also, for their apparel use painted skins, but most of them gowns of moss, somewhat longer than our moss, which they sew together artificially, and make the same surplice wise: wearing their hair down to their shoulders, like the Indians.

In this river of May aforesaid, the Captain entering with his pinnace, found a French ship of 80 tons; and two pinnaces, of 15 tons apiece, by her: and speaking with the keepers thereof, they told him of a fort, two leagues up, which they had built, in which their Captain, Monsieur LAUDONNIERE was, with certain soldiers.

To whom, our Captain sending to understand of a watering place, where he might conveniently take it in, and to have license for the same: he straight (because there was no convenient place but up the river five leagues, where the water was fresh) did send him a pilot for the more expedition thereof,

to bring in one of his barks; which going in with other boats provided for the same purpose, anchored before the fort. Into the which, our Captain went; where he was, by the General with other Captains and soldiers, very gently entertained: who declared unto him, the time of their being there, which was fourteen months [*i.e.*, *from May*, 1564], with the extremity they were driven to for want of victuals, having brought very little with them. In which place they, being 200 men at their first coming, had, in short space, eaten all the maize they could buy of the inhabitants about them, and therefore were driven certain of them to serve a king [*chief*] of the Floridans against others his enemies, for mill [*millet*] and other victuals: which having got, could not serve them, being so many, so long a time. But want came upon them, in such sort, that they were fain to gather acorns, which being stamped small, and often washed to take away the bitterness of them, they did use for bread: eating withal sundry times roots, whereof they found many good and wholesome; and such as serve rather for medicines than for meats alone.

But this hardness, not contenting some of them (who would not take the pains so much as to fish in the river before their doors, but would have all things put into their mouths), they did rebel against the Captain; taking away first his armour, and afterwards imprisoning him: and so, to the number of 80 of them, departed with a bark and a pinnace, spoiling their store of victuals, and taking away a great part thereof with them. And so went to the islands of Hispaniola and Jamaica a roving, where they spoiled and pilled [*pillaged*] the Spaniards, and having taken two caravels laden with wine and *casavi* (which is a bread made of roots) and much other victuals and treasure, had not the grace to depart therewith: but were of such haughty stomachs that they thought their force to be such that no man durst meddle with them, and so kept harbour in Jamaica, going daily ashore at their pleasure.

But GOD which would not suffer such evil doers unpunished, did indurate their hearts in such sort, that they lingered the time so long that a ship and galleas, being made out of Santo Domingo, came thither into the harbour, and took twenty of them; whereof the most part were hanged, and the rest carried into Spain: and some, to the number of five and twenty, escaped in the pinnace, and came to Florida; where,

at their landing, they were put in prison; and, incontinent, four of the chiefest being condemned, at the request of the soldiers, did pass the harquebussiers, and then were hanged upon a gibbet.

This lack of 60 men was a great discourage[ment] and weakening to the rest; for they were the best soldiers that they had. For they had now made the inhabitants weary of them, by their daily craving of maize, having no wares left to content withal; and therefore were enforced to rob them, and to take away their victuals perforce; which was the occasion that the Floridans, not well contented therewith, did take certain of their company in the woods, and slew them; whereby there grew great wars betwixt them and the Frenchmen, and therefore they being but a few in number durst not venture abroad, but as such time as they were enforced thereunto for want of food to do the same. And going twenty harquebussiers in a company, were set upon by eighteen kings, having 700 or 800 men, which with one of their bows slew one of their men, and hurt a dozen, and drove them all down to their boats; whose policy in fight was to be marvelled at, for having shot at divers of their bodies which were armed, and perceiving that their arrows did not prevail against the same, they shot at their faces and legs which were the places that the Frenchmen were hurt in.

Thus, the Frenchmen returned, being in ill case by the hurt of their men, having not above 40 soldiers left unhurt; whereby they might ill make any more invasions upon the Floridans, and keep their fort withal: which they must have been driven unto, had not GOD sent us thither for their succour. For they had not above ten days' victuals left before we came.

In which perplexity, our Captain seeing them, spared them out of his ship twenty barrels of meal, and four pipes of beans; with divers other victuals and necessaries which he might conveniently spare: and to help them the better homewards, whither they were bound, before our coming, at their request, we spared them [*for* 700 *crowns*] one of our barks of 50 tons.

Notwithstanding the great want that the Frenchmen had, the ground doth yield victuals sufficient, if they would have taken pains to get the same; but they being soldiers, desired to live by the sweat of other men's brows: for while

they had peace with the Floridans, they had fish sufficient, by weirs which they made to catch the same; but when they grew to wars, the Floridans took away the same again, and then would not the Frenchmen take the pains to make any more. The ground yieldeth naturally grapes in great store, for, in the time that the Frenchmen were there, they made twenty hogsheads of wine. Also it yieldeth roots passing good, deer in marvellous store, with divers other beasts and fowl [*birds*] serviceable to the use of man. These be things wherewith a man may live, having corn or maize wherewith to make bread; for maize maketh good savoury bread, and cakes as fine as flour: also it maketh good meal, beaten and sodden with water, and eateth like pap wherewith we feed children. It maketh also good beverage, sodden in water, and nourishable: which the Frenchmen did use to drink of in the morning; and it assuaged their thirst, so that they had no need to drink all the day after. And this maize was the greatest lack they had, because they had no labourers to sow the same; and therefore to them that should inhabit the land it were requisite to have labourers to till and sow the ground. For they having victuals of their own, whereby they neither rob nor spoil the inhabitants, may live not only quietly with them, who naturally are more desirous of peace than of wars; but also shall have abundance of victuals proffered them for nothing: for it is with them, as it is with one of us, when we see another man ever taking away from us, although we have enough besides, yet then we think all too little for ourselves. For surely we have heard the Frenchmen report, and I know it by the Indians, that a very little contenteth them: for the Indians, with the head of maize roasted, will travel a whole day; and when they are, at the Spaniards' finding [*victualling*], they give them nothing but sodden herbs and maize; and, in this order, I saw [*i.e., in the W. I.*] 60 of them feed, who were laden with wares, and come fifty leagues off.

Tobacco, and the great virtue thereof.

The Floridans, when they travel, have a kind of herb dried, who with a cane and a earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, do suck through the cane the smoke thereof; which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therewith they live four or five days without meat or drink. And this all the Frenchmen used for this

purpose; yet do they hold opinion withal, that it causeth water and phlegm to void from their stomachs.

The commodities of this land are more than are yet known to any man. For besides the land itself, whereof there is more than any Christian king is able to inhabit, it flourisheth with meadow, pasture ground, with woods of cedar, cyprus, and other sorts, as better cannot be in the world. They have for apothecary herbs, trees, roots, and gums in great store; as *storax liquida*, turpentine, gum, myrrh, and frankincense, with many others, whereof I know not the names: colours, red, black, yellow, and russet, very perfect; wherewith they so paint their bodies, and deer-skins which they wear about them, that with water it neither fadeth away, nor altereth colour.

Gold and silver they want not. For at the Frenchmen's first coming thither, they had the same offered them for little or nothing; for they received for a hatchet 2lbs. weight of gold, because they knew not the estimation thereof: but the soldiers being greedy of the same, did take it from them, giving them nothing for it. The which they perceiving, that both the Frenchmen did greatly esteem it, and also did rigorously deal with them by taking the same away from them, at last would not be known they had any more, neither durst they wear the same for fear of [its] being taken away: so that saving at the first coming, they could get none of them. And how they came by this gold and silver the Frenchmen knew not as yet; but by guess, some (having travelled to the south-west of the Cape, having found the same dangerous, by means of sundry banks, as we also have found the same: and there finding masts which were wrecks of Spaniards coming from Mexico) judged that they had gotten treasure by them. For it is most true that divers wrecks have been made of Spaniards, having much treasure. For the Frenchmen having travelled to the Cape-ward a 150 miles, did find two Spaniards with the Floridans, which they brought, after, to their fort; whereof one was in a caravel coming from the Indies, which was cast away fourteen years ago [*i.e.*, *in* 1551] and the other twelve years [*in* 1553]: of whose fellows, some escaped: other some were slain by the inhabitants.

It seemeth they had estimation of their gold and silver, for

it is wrought flat and graven, which they wear about their necks: other some made round like a pancake, with a hole in the midst, to bolster up their breasts withal, because they think it a deformity to have great breasts. As for mines, either of gold or silver, the Frenchmen can hear of none they have upon the island; but of copper whereof, as yet, they have not made the proof, because they were but few men. But it is not unlike[ly], but that in the main[land] where are high hills, may be gold and silver as well as in Mexico, because it is all one main[land].

The Frenchmen obtained pearls of them, of great blackness, but they were black, by means of roasting of them; for they do not fish for them as the Spaniards do, but for their meat. For the Spaniards used to keep daily afishing some two or three hundred Indians, some of them that be of choice a thousand: and their order is to go in canoes or rather great pinnaces, with thirty men in apiece; whereof the one half or most part be divers, the rest do open the same for the pearls, for it is not suffered that they should use dragging, for that would bring them out of estimation, and mar the beds of them.

The oysters which have the smallest sort of pearls are found in seven or eight fathoms of water, but the greatest in eleven or twelve fathoms.

The Floridans have pieces of unicorn horns [? *bear's claws*], which they wear about their necks, whereof the Frenchmen obtained many pieces. Of those unicorns they have many, for that they do affirm it to be a beast with one horn, which coming to the river to drink, putteth the same into the water before he drinketh. Of this unicorn's horn, there are of our company, that having gotten the same of the Frenchmen, brought home thereof to show.

Unicorn's horns, which the inhabitants called *Sova mamma*.

It is therefore to be presupposed that there are more commodities as well as that, which, for want of time, and people sufficient to inhabit of the same, cannot yet come to light; but I trust GOD will reveal the same before it be long, to the great profit of them that shall take it in hand.

Of beasts in the country, besides deers, hares, polecats, conies, ounces, and leopards, I am not able certainly to say; but it is thought that there are lions and tigers as well as unicorns. Lions especially, if it be true that is said of the

emnity between them and the unicorns. For there is no beast but hath his enemy, as the cony [*the rabbit*], the polecat; a sheep, the wolf; the elephant, the rhinoceros; and so of other beasts the like: insomuch that whereas the one is, the other cannot be missing.

And seeing I have made mention of the beasts of this country, it shall not be from my purpose to speak also of the venomous beasts; as crocodiles, whereof there is great abundance, adders of great bigness, whereof our men killed some of a yard and a half long. Also I heard a miracle of one of these adders, upon the which a falcon seizing the said adder, [it] did clasp her tail upon her, which the French Captain seeing, came to the rescue of the falcon, and took her flaying the adder: and this falcon being wild, he did reclaim her, and kept her, for the space of two months; at which time, for very want of meat, he was fain to cast her off. On these adders, the French did feed, to the no little admiration [*wonderment*] of us; and affirmed the same to be a delicate meal. And the Captain of the Frenchmen saw also a serpent with three heads and four feet, of the bigness of a great spaniel; which, for want of a harquebuss, he durst not attempt to slay.

Of fish, also, they have in the river, pike, ro[a]ch, salmon, trout, and divers other small fishes; and of great fish, some of the length of a man and longer, being of bigness accordingly, having a snout much like a sword, of a yard long.

There be also of sea fishes, which we saw coming along the coast, flying: which were of the bigness of a smelt; the biggest whereof have four wings, but the others have but two. Of these, we saw coming out of Guinea a hundred in a company, which being chased by the "gilt-heads," otherwise called the *bonitos*, do to avoid them the better, take their flight out of the water; but yet are they not able to fly far because of the drying of their wings, which serve them not to fly but when they are moist: and therefore when they can fly no further, they fall into the water, and having wet their wings, take a new flight again. These *bonitos* be of bigness like a carp, and in colour like a mackerel; but it is the swiftest fish in swimming that is, and followeth her prey very fiercely, not only in the water, but also out of the water; for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this *bonito* leap after

them, and taketh them sometimes above the water. There were some of those *bonitos* which, being galled by a fisgig, did follow our ship, coming out of Guinea, 500 leagues. There is a sea fowl also that chaseth this flying fish as well as the *bonito;* for as the flying fish taketh her flight, so doth this fowl pursue to take her: which to behold is a greater pleasure than hawking, for both the flights are as pleasant, and also more often by a hundred times; for the fowl can fly no way, but one or other lighteth in her paws, the number of them is so abundant. There is an innumerable young fry of these flying fishes which commonly keep about the ship, and are not so big as butterflies, and yet by flying, do avoid the insatiableness of the *bonito.* Of the bigger sort of these fishes, we took many, which, both day and night, flew into the sails of our ship; and there was not one of them which was not worth a *bonito*: for being put upon a hook drabbling in the water, the *bonito* would leap thereat, and so was taken. Also we took many with a white cloth made fast to a hook, which being tied so short in the water that it might leap out and in, the greedy *bonito* thinking it to be a flying fish leapeth thereat, and so is deceived.

We took also dolphins, which are of very goodly colour and proportion to behold; and no less delicate in taste.

Fowls also there be many, both upon land and upon sea; but concerning them on the land, I am not able to name them, because my abode there was so short. But for the fowl of the fresh rivers, these two I noted to be the chief: whereof the Flamingo is one, having all red feathers, and long red legs like the herne [*heron*], a neck according to the bill, red, whereof the upper neb [*i.e., of the beak*] hangeth an inch over the nether; and an Egript, which is all white as the swan, with legs like to an hearneshewe [*heronshaw*] and of bigness accordingly, but it hath in her tail feathers of so fine a plume, that it passeth the estridge [*ostrich*] his feather.

Of the sea fowl, above all others not common in England, I noted the Pelican, which is feigned to be the lovingest bird that is; which rather than her young should want, will spare her heart's blood out of her belly: but, for all this lovingness, she is very deformed to behold. For she is of russet colour (notwithstanding, in Guinea, I had seen of them as white as a swan) having legs like the same, and a body like a herne

[*heron*], with a long neck; and a thick long beak, from the nether jaw whereof, down to the breast, passeth a skin of such bigness as is able to receive a fish as big as a man's thigh: and thus her big throat and long bill doth make her seem so ugly.

Here I have declared the estate of Florida, and the commodities therein, to this day known! which although it may seem unto some by the means, that the plenty of gold and silver is not so abundant as in other places, that the cost bestowed on the same will not be able to quit [*clear*] the charges; yet am I of the opinion by that which I have seen in other islands of the Indies (where such increase of cattle hath been, that of twelve beasts, in five and twenty years, did, in the hides of them, raise a £1,000 [=£8,000 *now*] profit yearly) that the increase of cattle only [*alone*] would raise profit sufficient for the same. For we may consider, if so small a portion did raise so much gain in so short a time, what would a greater do, in many years? And surely I may affirm this, that the ground of the Indies, for the breed[ing] of cattle, is not, in any point, to be compared with this of Florida; which is as green, all the year long, as it is any time, in the summer, with us: which surely is not to be marvelled at, seeing the country standeth in so watery a climate. For once a day, without fail, they have a shower of rain; which, by means of the country itself (which is dry, and more fervent[ly] hot than ours) doth make all things to flourish therein. And because there is not there the thing which we all seek for, being rather desirous of present gains; I do therefore affirm the attempt thereof to be more requisite for a Prince: who is of power able to go through with the same, rather than for any subject.

From thence, we departed, the 28th July, upon our voyage homewards; having there all things as might be most convenient for our purpose: and took leave of the Frenchmen that still remained there; who determined, with diligence, to make so great speed after, as they could.

Then, by means of contrary winds, we prolonged our voyage in such manner, that victuals scanted with us; so that we were, divers times, or rather the most part, in de-

spair of ever coming home: had not GOD, of His goodness, better provided for us, than our deserving. In which state of great misery, we were provoked to call upon Him, by fervent prayer; which moved Him to hear us: so that we had a prosperous wind, which did set [*send*] us so far shot [*ahead*] as to be on the Bank of Newfoundland on St. Bartholomew's Eve [23*rd August*]; and we sounded thereupon, finding ground at 130 fathoms. And being that day somewhat becalmed, we took a great number of fresh codfish, which greatly relieved us: and, being very glad thereof, the next day [24*th August*] we departed; and had lingering little gales for the space of four or five days. At the end of which [? 29*th August*] we saw a couple of French ships, and had of them so much fish as would serve us plentifully for all the rest of the way: the Captain paying for the same, both gold and silver, to the just value thereof, unto the chief owners of the said ships; but they, not looking for anything at all, were glad in themselves, to meet with such good entertainment at sea as they had at our hands.

After which departure from them, with a good large wind, we came, the 20th of September [1565], to Padstow in Cornwall, GOD be thanked! in safety: with the loss of twenty persons in all the voyage; as with great profit to the Venturers of the said voyage, so also to the whole realm, in bringing home both gold, silver, pearls, and other jewels in great store. His name therefore be praised, for evermore! Amen.

The Third Voyage of Sir John Hawkins.

I.—Earliest tidings of the disaster in England, Dec. 1568—Jan. 1569.

3 Dec. 1568. W. Hawkins, junior, to Sir W. Cecil ... *p.* 83-4
22 Jan. 1569. The same to the Privy Council ... ... *p.* 85-6
22 Jan. 1569. The same to Sir W. Cecil... ... ... *p.* 87-8
27 Jan. 1569. The same to the same ... ... *p.* 89-90

II.—Sir John Hawkins's own printed account, Spring of 1569.

A true Declaration of the troublesome Voyage of Mr. John Hawkins to the parts of Guinea and the West Indies, in the years of our Lord 1567 and 1568 ... ... *pp.* 91-103

III.—The Depositions in the English Admiralty Court, March, 1569.

William Fowler, of Ratcliffe, Merchant ... ... *p.* 106-8
William Clarke, Supercargo in the Fleet ... ... *p.* 108-9
John Hawkins, Esq... ... ... *p.* 109-13
Humphrey Fones, Steward of the *Angel* ... ... *p.* 113-14
Jean Turren, Trumpeter in the *Jesus* ... ... *p.* 114
The Depositions to the Twenty-seven Articles of the Schedule *pp* 115-126

With which are to be taken—

THE NARRATIVES OF THREE SURVIVORS OF THE 112 MEN LANDED NEAR TAMPICO ON 8TH OCTOBER, 1568.

David Ingram, who reached England in 1569 ... ... *pp.* 161-172
Miles Phillips, who arrived in England 1583 ... ... *pp.* 173-218
Job Hortop, who got home to England, at last, in 1590 ... *pp.* 219-242

HAWKINS'S PRETENDED TREACHERY TO THE SPANIARDS, MAY—SEPT. 1571.

13 May 1571. John Hawkins to Lord Burghley ... *pp.* 127-8
7 June 1571. The same to the same ... ... *pp.* 128-9
4 Sept. 1571. The same to the same ... ... *pp.* 129-130

[This Third Voyage was the most important expedition that had hitherto been made by the English nation beyond the coasts of Europe. Of its numerical strength we have no precise record; but it could hardly have been less than from 300 to 400 men: a very considerable force for that time, to send on such a remote adventure.

Its tragical fate, so far from being a discouragement to English seamen, only stung them to a manifold revenge; and the baptism of blood at San Juan de Ulua was afterwards expiated in the plunder of many an unfortunate Spanish ship. DRAKE never rested till his "particular Indignation" of it was fully assuaged: and it was in pursuit of that object, that we see him (*Vol. II. p.* 269) on the 11th February, 1573, on the top of a very high tree on the dividing ridge of Central America, gazing, for the first time, on the Pacific Ocean; which sight moved him to his famous Voyage round the World.

On the other hand, we must consider the Spaniards point of view. They were alarmed in the highest degree at seeing a strong English fleet at the very door of the Indies. If they came to San Juan de Ulua with impunity; not Mexico itself, nor Peru, nor the annual galleons that came from the Philippine islands would be safe from these heretical islanders. We can appreciate their instant realisation of this menace to their power; also their quick sense of insult at the impudent audacity of these Englishmen in coming thus unbidden to their hidden Treasure House; and how both these motives would occasion an almost frenzied purpose to destroy them, any how, and at any cost. The stigma on them, therefore, comes not so much from their fighting, as from their supreme treachery: but they seem to have chosen treachery, as feeling they had no chance in a fair fight; as indeed it actually turned out. For in the fight itself between the ships, HAWKINS was the victor. It was the fired ships (a strange anticipation of those at Calais, twenty years later) that compelled the English to abandon the *Jesus*, and the vast treasure that she contained.

This Third Voyage is also memorable as being the first occasion on which English keels furrowed that hitherto unknown sea, the Bay of Mexico. The Spaniards had kept their West Indian navigations a dead secret. No foreigner, unless naturalised by marriage and a long residence in Spain, had a chance of obtaining a license to go to the West Indies. The English had no charts or maps to guide them, and had to grope their way as best they could; often only by compelling the help of the local pilots whom they took prisoners.

In those days, the English always entered the West Indies by the South, by Trinidad and the northern shore of South America; and then felt their way northwards as well as they were able: so that Mexico, though geographically much nearer to England, was considered by them as much more remote and less known. It was an excellent proof of HAWKINS's good seamanship, that the *Minion* ever got out of the Bay of Mexico at all. It took them a month (16 Oct.—16 Nov. 1568, *p.* 102) to do so: whereas, once clear of the West Indies, he sailed across the much wider, but more familiar Atlantic in about six weeks' time.]

I.—The Earliest Tidings of the Disaster in England.

William Hawkins, junior, Esq., Governor of Plymouth.

[*See pp.* 84-8.]

Letter, on 3rd December, 1568, to Sir William Cecil, informing him of Spanish reports of the destruction of his brother's Fleet in the Indies.

[This letter may be taken as indubitable evidence of the kind intentions of the Spaniards in respect of John Hawkins's fleet, should they be able to carry them out; for it was not possible that any news of the treachery and tragedy at San Juan de Ulua of the previous 23rd September, could have got to Spain, and from thence to London, and so to Plymouth, in the seventy-two days which had since elapsed. Drake (in the *Judith*, a good sailer, *pp.* 85, 88, 101, and coming straight home from the scene of the catastrophe), did not reach Plymouth till the 22nd January following, *i.e.* fifty days later than the date of this letter.]

[*State Papers. Domestic. Elizabeth. Vol.* 48. *No.* 50.]

MY bounden duty always had in remembrance. It may please your Honour to be advertised that there was certain news declared unto me by Master William Wynter, Esquire, and he should hear [*had heard*] it of Benedick Spinola, of a letter he should [*had*] received out of Spain. GOD forbid it should be true! I hope it is but as the Spaniard would have it.

The news should be [*was*] that my brother, John Hawkins, was constrained to land, and to travel far into the land, to make his traffic: and so by a great number of men should be entrapped, and all put to the sword; with a great loss to the Spaniards also.

But if it should be true, as GOD forbid! I shall have cause to course them whiles I live, and my children after me.

Wherefore, I shall desire your Honour to be so good in this cause, to call before your Honour, BENEDICK SPINOLA, and to require him to declare you the truth in this matter, and thereupon, as the cause requireth, to advertise the Queen's Majesty thereof; to the end there might be some Stay made of King PHILLIP's treasure here in these parts, till there be sufficient recompense made for the great wrong offered, and also other wrongs done before this.

And if it shall not please the Queen's Majesty to meddle in this matter (although Her Majesty shall be the greatest loser therein!) yet that she would give her subjects leave to meddle with them by law; and then, I trust, we should not only have recompense to the uttermost, but also do as good service as is to be devised, with so little cost. And I hope to please GOD best therein; for that they are GOD's enemies!

This I thought good to advertise your Honour, to the end, I might thereby be blameless therein, and you, thereby, to see it redressed.

There was an Act and Decree directed unto Sir ARTHUR CHAMPERNOWN and me, out of the [Lord] Admiral's Court, [of] which [the] effect was, that, by both our consents, the ships with the goods sequestered in our hands should be delivered unto the Flemings; and Master KELL and his [ac]complices, with their ships, to be released; always reserving unto every one, for the false keeping and conservation of the ships and goods, their charges, taxed and allowed by Sir ARTHUR and me, or one of us. Which we have done accordingly; and now the Judge mindeth to alter all; wherefore, if occasion shall serve, I shall desire your Honour's help herein. And I shall daily pray for your Honourable Estate long to endure.

From Plymouth, the 3rd day of December, 1568.

By your Honour's always to command,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM CECIL Knight, Secretary to the Queen's Majesty; give this, with all speed!

WILLIAM HAWKINS, junior, Esq., Governor of Plymouth.

Letter to the Privy Council, in the night of the 22nd January, 1569, advising of the arrival at Plymouth that night, of FRANCIS DRAKE, in the Judith.

[*State Papers. Domestic. ELIZABETH. Vol.* 49. *No.* 37.]

[At the time, WILLIAM HAWKINS was writing this letter, his brother JOHN was sailing homewards in the *Minion*, from Vigo to Mount's Bay in Cornwall : see *p.* 103.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE, AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORDS.

MY BOUNDEN duty always had in remembrance. It may please your Honours to be advertised that there is, this present night, arrived into the port of Plymouth, one of the small barks [*the Judith*] of my brother JOHN HAWKINS' Fleet, from the Indias; and for that I have neither writing from him, nor anything else, I thought good, and my most bounden duty so to do, to send [to] your Honours, the Captain of the same bark, to the end the Queen's Majesty may be, by your Honours, thoroughly advertised of the whole proceedings of this Voyage.

And for that my brother's safe return is very dangerous and doubtful, but that it resteth in GOD's hands (who send him well, if it be His blessed will!); and our adventures [*i.e., of the two brothers' HAWKINS*], at this present time, £2,000 [= *about* £16,000 *now*] : besides many injuries we

have sustained at the Spaniards' hands heretofore. Wherefore, my humble suit unto your Honours is to, be a mean[s] unto the Queen's Majesty that I may be by some means, recompensed, as time and occasion hereafter shall serve; either by some of those Spaniards' goods stayed in these West parts, or otherwise by some furtherance from the Queen's Majesty; whereby I may the better be able to recompense myself against those nations that hath offered these wrongs.

And I shall daily pray for the long continuance of your Honour's estates, long to endure.

From Plymouth, the 22nd day of January, *anno* 1568 [*i.e.*, 1569.]

By your Honours always to command,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

And further, if it shall please your Honours to have some consideration towards the poor state of our town. I assure your Honours, it is not, of itself, able to provide two hundredweight of powder, without a collection amongst ourselves: and the inhabitants very poor besides. But to our powers, we will be found ready for the defence of the same.

The great passing of Fleets, this summer [1568], before our haven, either with fleeing out of Flanders (which GOD grant!) or otherwise the repair into Flanders out of Spain, with aid, may be a means whereby the town may be put to a great after deal: which GOD forbid! Wherefore I shall desire your Honours to consider of it.

This I thought good to advertise your Honours, for my own discharge.

By your Honours always,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable and my singular good Lords, the Lords of the Privy Council; give this at the Court with all speed.

Haste! Haste!

WILLIAM HAWKINS, junior, Esq. Governor of Plymouth.

Letter to Sir WILLIAM CECIL, on the same night of the 22nd January, 1569.

[*State Papers. Domestic. ELIZABETH. Vol. 49. No. 36.*]

RIGHT HONOURABLE.

MY BOUNDEN duty always had in remembrance. It may please your Honour to be advertised that this present hour there is come to Plymouth, one of the small barks of my brother's fleet; and for that I have neither writing, nor anything else from him, I thought it good and my most bounden duty, to send you the Captain of the same bark, being our kinsmen, called FRANCIS DRAKE; for that he shall thoroughly inform your Honour of the whole proceedings of these affairs, to the end the Queen's Majesty may be advertised of the same.

And for that it doth plainly appear of their manifest injuries from time to time offered; and our losses only in this Voyage £2,000 [= £16,000 *now*] at least; besides my brother's absence (which unto me is more grief than any other thing in this world), whom I trust, as GOD hath preserved, will likewise preserve and send well home in safety: in the meantime, my humble suit unto your Honour is, that the Queen's Majesty will, when time shall serve, see me her humble and obedient subject, partly recompensed of those Spaniards' goods here stayed. And further, if it shall please Her Grace to give me leave to work my own force against them, to the end I may be the better recompensed: I shall be the more bound unto Her Highness: who I pray

GOD long to live to the Glory of GOD, and the comfort of her subjects.

If I may have any warrant from Her Majesty, or from your Honour; I shall be glad to set forth four ships of my own presently [*at once*].

I have already commission from the Cardinal CHATILLION for one ship to serve the Princes of NAVARRE and CONDÉ: but I may not presume any further, without commission.

In these things, I shall desire your Honour to be advertised by my servant, FRANCIS DRAKE; and I shall daily pray for your Honour's estate long to endure.

From Plymouth, the 20th of January, at night, 1568 [*i.e.*, 1569].

By your Honour's,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

For the small bark [*the Judith*] that is come home, if I might be so bold [as] to cause her to be [ap]praised by four honest men, to the end the Adventurers might be duly answered; I would, for that she is a very good sailer, bestow a £100 [£800 *now*] upon her presently [*at once*].

Our town is very weak, and hath no help of the Prince: wherefore I shall most humbly desire your Honour to be a help for some allowance for us.

By your Honour's,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM CECIL, Chief Secretary to the Queen's Majesty; give this, at the Court, with all speed!

William Hawkins, junior, Esq. Governor of Plymouth.

Letter to Sir William Cecil, of 27th January, 1569, announcing the arrival of his brother at Mount's Bay.

[*State Papers. Domestic. Elizabeth. Vol.* 49. *No.* 42.]

Right Honourable.

Y bounden duty always had in remembrance. It may please your Honour to be advertised, that I am credibly informed of my brother's arrival [*on the 25th January, see p.* 103] with the *Minion*, in Mount's Bay, in Cornwall. Not from him, nor any of his company; but by one of the Mount, [who] for good will, came immediately away in post, upon the speech of one of his men who was sent aland for help of men, and also for cables and anchors, for that they had but one: and their men [are] greatly weakened by reason he put ashore [*on the 8th of October*, 1568] in the Indias, a hundred of his men, for the safeguard of the rest; and also that he should [*had*] cast overboard, not five days before [*i.e., between the 3rd—8th of October*, 1568] forty-five men more; and the rest, being alive, were fain to live seven days upon an ox-hide.

Whereupon, the wind being easterly; I sent away for his succour, a bark with thirty-four mariners, store of fresh victuals, two anchors, three cables, and store of small warps, with other necessaries, as I thought good.

I am assured to hear from himself, this night at the furthest; and then I will certify your Honour, with speed, again.

And so, for this time, I leave to trouble your Honour any further; praying for the increase of your Honour's estate.

From Plymouth, the 27th of January, 1568 [*i.e.*, 1569].

Sir ARTHUR CHAMPERNOWN hath willed me to advertise your Honour, that, to-morrow next, he mindeth depart out of Plymouth, with all the treasure, towards Exeter; and to be there, the next day following, where he mindeth to stay till Saturday next following. He mindeth to provide, for the safe conduct of the same, fifty horsemen, and fifty footmen, with artillery and things necessary for the same; which this bearer can declare to your Honour all at large: and then to come with the treasure, with as much diligence as is possible. Praying your Honour to advertise, by post, if this determination like you not; and he will be willing to follow your Honour's determination to the contrary.

From Plymouth, *ut supra*.

By your Honour's, always to command,

WILLIAM HAWKINS.

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable Sir WILLIAM CECIL Knight, Chief Secretary to the Queen's Majesty; give this, at the Court, with all haste possible.

Haste! Haste! Post Haste!

¶ A true declaration of the troublesome Voyage of M. John Hawkins to the parts of Guinea and the West Indies, in the years of our Lord 1567 and 1568.

¶ Imprinted at London, in Paul's Churchyard, by Thomas Purfoot for Lucas Harrison, dwelling at the sign of the Crane.

Anno. 1569.

¶ *Here followeth a Note or Declaration of the troublesome Voyage made with the* Jesus, *the* Minion, *and four other ships to the parts of Guinea in the years* 1567 *and* 1568, *by* JOHN HAWKINS.

[*Also in* HAKLUYT, 1589.]

THE ships departed from Plymouth, the 2nd day of October, *anno* 1567; and had reasonable weather until the 7th day, at which time, some 40 leagues north from Cape Finisterre, there arose an extreme storm, which continued four days, in such sort that the fleet was dispersed, and all our great boats lost, and the *Jesus*, our chief ship, in such case as not thought able to serve the voyage: whereupon, in the same storm, we set our course homeward, determining to give over the voyage. But the 11th day of the same month, the wind changed, with fair weather: whereby we were animated to follow our enterprise; and so did, directing our course to the isles of the Grand Canaries; where, according to an order before prescribed, all our ships, before dispersed, met in one of those islands, called Gomera.

There we took water, and departed from thence, the 4th day of November, towards the coast of Guinea; and arrived

at Cape de Verde the 18th day of November, where we landed 150 men, hoping to obtain some Negroes: where we got but few, and those with great hurt and damage to our men, which chiefly proceeded of their envenomed arrows. And although in the beginning, they seemed to be but small hurts: yet there hardly escaped any that had blood drawn of them, but died in strange sort, with their mouths shut some ten days before they died, and after their wounds were whole. Where I myself had one of the greatest wounds; yet, thanks be to GOD! escaped.

From thence, we passed the time upon the coast of Guinea, searching with all diligence the rivers, from Rio Grande unto Sierra Leone, till the 12th of January [1568]; in which time, we had not got together 150 Negrose [*Negroes*]: yet, notwithstanding the sickness of our men, and the late time of the year commanded us away.

Thus having nothing wherewith to seek the coast of the West Indias, I was, with the rest of our company, in consultation, to go to the Coast of the Mine [*El Mina, near Cape Coast Castle*]; hoping there to have obtained some gold for our wares, and thereby to have defended [*defrayed*] our charges: but even, in that present instant, there came to us a Negro sent from a king oppressed by other kings his neighbours, desiring our aid, with promise that as many Negrose as by these wars might be obtained, as well of his part as of ours, should be at our pleasure.

Whereupon we concluded to give aid, and sent 120 of our men; which the 15th of January [1568] assaulted a town of the Negrose [*Negroes*], our ally's adversaries, which had in it 8,000 inhabitants. It was very strongly impaled and fenced, after their manner; and it was so well defended that our men prevailed not, but lost six men, and forty hurt. So that our men sent forthwith to me for more help: whereupon considering that the good success of this enterprise might highly further the commodity of our voyage, I went myself; and with the help of the King of our side, assaulted the town, both by land and sea: and very hardly, with fire (their houses being covered with dry palm leaves), obtained the town and put the inhabitants to flight.

There we took 250 persons (men, women, and children), and by our friend the King of our side, there were taken 600

prisoners whereof we hoped to have had our choice: but the Negro (in which nation is seldom or never found the truth) meant nothing less. For that night, he removed his camp and prisoners: so that we were fain to be content with those few, which we had got ourselves.

¶ Now had we obtained between 400 and 500 Negrose, wherewith we thought it somewhat reasonable to seek the coast of the West Indians; and there for our Negrose and our other merchandise, we hoped to obtain whereof to countervail our charges, with some gains.

Whereunto we proceeded with all diligence, furnished our watering, took fuel, and departed the coast of Guinea, the 3rd of February, continuing at the sea, with a passage more hard than before hath been accustomed, till the 27th day of March, on which day, we had sight of an island called Dominica, upon the coast of the West Indies, in 14° N.

From thence, we coasted from place to place, making our traffic with the Spaniards as we might; somewhat hardly, because the King had straitly commanded all his Governors in those parts, by no means, to suffer any trade to be made with us.

Notwithstanding, we had reasonable trade and courteous entertainment, from the isle of Margarita, unto Cartagena, without anything greatly worth the noting: saving at Cape de la Vela, in a town called Rio de la Hacha (from whence come all the pearls), the Treasurer [*Captain JOHN LOVELL with young FRANCIS DRAKE (then on his first visit to West Indies, had thought themselves wronged here, in* 1565-66], who had charge there, would, by no means, agree to any trade, or suffer us to take water. He had fortified his town with divers Bulwarks [*forts*] in all places where it might be entered; and furnished himself with a hundred harquebussiers: so that he thought to have enforced us by famine [*including thirst*], to have put a land our Negrose. Of which purpose, he had not greatly failed, unless we had by force entered the town: which (after we could by no means obtain his favour) we were enforced to do. And so, with 200 men, brake in upon their Bulwarks, and entered the town; with the loss of only two men of our part;

and no hurt done to the Spaniards; because after their volley of shot discharged, they all fled.

¶ Thus having the town, with some circumstance [*negotiations*], as partly by the Spaniards' desire of Negroes, and partly by the friendship of the Treasurer, we obtained a secret trade: whereupon, the Spaniards resorted to us by night, and bought of us to the number of 200 Negroes.

In all other places, where we traded, the Spanish inhabitants were glad of us, and traded willingly.

At Cartagena, the last town we thought to have seen on the coast, we could, by no means, obtain to come with any Spaniard; the Governor was so strait. And because our trade was so near[ly] finished, we thought it not good either to adventure any landing, or to detract further time; but, in peace, departed from thence, the 24th of July: hoping to have escaped the time of their storms, which then, soon after, begin to reign; the which they call *Furicanos* [hurricanes].

But passing by the west end of Cuba, towards the coast of Florida, there happened to us, the 12th day of August, an extreme storm, which continued by the space of four days; which did so beat the *Jesus*, that we cut down all her higher buildings: her rudder also was sore[ly] shaken, and withal she was in so extreme a leak, that we were rather upon the point to leave her, than to keep her any longer.

Yet hoping to bring all to good pass, we sought the coast of Florida; where we found no place nor haven for our ships, because of the shallowness of the coast.

Thus being in greater despair, and taken with a new storm which continued another three days; we were enforced to take for our succour the port which serveth the city of Mexico, called Saint John de Lye [*San Juan de Ulua*]; which standeth in 19° N.

In seeking of which port, we took, in our way, three ships, which carried passengers to the number of a hundred: which passengers we hoped should be a means to us, the better to obtain victuals for our money, and a quiet place for the repairing of our fleet.

Shortly after this, the 16th of September, we entered the port of Saint Jon de lue [*San Juan de Ulua*]; and in our entry, the Spaniards thinking us to be the Fleet of Spain, the

Chief Officers of the country came aboard us: who, being deceived of their expectation, were greatly dismayed; but immediately when they saw our demand was nothing but victuals, were recomforted.

I found also in the same port, twelve ships which had in them, by report £200,000 [=*nearly two millions sterling now*] in gold and silver. All which, being in my possession, with the King's island, as also the passengers before stayed in my way thitherward, I set at liberty, without the taking from them, the weight of a groat.

Only because I would not be delayed of my despatch, I stayed two men of estimation; and sent post immediately to Mexico (which was 200 miles from us) to the Presidents and Council there, shewing them of our arrival there, by the force of weather, and the necessity of the repair of our ships, and victuals: which wants we required, as friends to King PHILLIP, to be furnished of for our money: and that the Presidents and Council there, should with all convenient speed take order that, at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet, which was daily looked for, there might no cause of quarrel rise between us and them; but for the better maintenance of amity, their commandment might be had in that behalf.

This message was sent away the 16th day of September, at night, being the very day of our arrival.

In the next morning, which was the 17th day of the same month, we saw open of the haven thirteen great ships; and understanding them to be the Fleet of Spain, I sent immediately to advertise the General of the Fleet, of my being there: giving him to understand that "Before I would suffer them to enter the port, there should be some order of Conditions passed between us, for our safe being there, and maintenance of peace."

Now it is to be understood, that this port is a little island of stones, not three feet above the water in the highest place; and but a bow shot of length any way. This island standeth from the mainland, two bow shots or more. Also it is to be understood that there is not in all this coast, any other place for ships to arrive in safety, because the north wind hath there such violence that, unless the ships be very safely moored with their anchors fastened upon this island: there

is no remedy for [*on account of*] the north winds, but death. Also the place of the haven was so little, that, of necessity, the ships must ride one aboard [*touching*] the other: so that we could not give place to them, nor they to us.

And here I began to bewail that which after followed, for now, said I, "I am in two dangers; and forced to receive the one of them." That was, either I must have kept the Fleet from entering the port, the which, with GOD's help, I was very well able to do: or else suffer them to enter in, with their accustomed treason, which they never fail to execute where they may have opportunity, or circumvent it by any means. If I had kept them out, then had there been present shipwreck of all the Fleet, which amounted in value to 6,000,000 [crowns] which was in value [*at 6s. the crown*] £1,800,000 [= *about four millions and a half now*] which I considered I was not able to answer; fearing the Queen's Majesty's indignation in so weighty a matter.

Thus revolving with myself the doubts; I thought it rather better to abide the jutt of the uncertainty, than the certainty. The uncertain doubt I accounted, was their treason; which, by good policy, I hoped might be prevented: and therefore as choosing the least mischief, I proceeded to Conditions.

Now was our first messenger come and returned from the Fleet, with report of the arrival of a Viceroy; so that he had authority both in all this Province of Mexico otherwise called *Nova Hispania*, and in the sea. Who sent us word that "We should send our Conditions, which, of his part, should (for the better maintenance of amity between the Princes), be both favourably granted, and faithfully performed": with many fair words, "how passing the coast of the Indies, he had understood of our honest behaviour towards the inhabitants where we had to do; as well elsewhere, as in the same port," the which I let pass.

Thus following our demand, we required,

Victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares as might furnish our wants.

That there might be, of either part, twelve gentlemen as hostages for the maintenance of peace.

That the island, for our better safety, might be in our own possession, during our abode there; and such ord-

nance as was planted in the same island: which were eleven pieces of brass.

And that no Spaniard might land in the island, with any kind of weapon.

These Conditions, at the first, he somewhat misliked; chiefly the guard of the island to be in our own keeping: which if they had had, we had soon known our fare. For with the first north wind, they had cut our cables, and our ships had gone ashore. But in the end, he concluded to our request, bringing the twelve hostages [down] to ten: which, with all speed, of either part, were received; with a writing from the Viceroy signed with his hand, and sealed with his seal, of all the Conditions concluded.

Forthwith a trumpet was blown; with commandment, that none, of either part, should be means to violate the peace, upon pain of death.

And further, it was concluded, that the two Generals of the Fleets should meet, and give faith each to the other, for the performance of the premisses. Which was so done.

Thus at the end of three days, all was concluded; and the Fleet entered the port: we saluting one another, as the manner of the sea doth require.

Thus, as I said before, Thursday [16*th*], we entered the port; Friday [17*th*], we saw the Fleet; and on Monday [20*th*] at night, they entered the port.

Then we laboured two days, placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves; and the Captains of each part, and inferior men of their parts, promising great amity of all sides. Which even, as with all fidelity, was meant of our part: so the Spaniards meant nothing less of their parts: but having furnished themselves from the mainland, with a supply of men, to the number of 1,000; they meant, the next Thursday, being the 23rd of September, at dinner time, to set upon us, of all sides.

The same Thursday, in the morning, the treason being at hand, some appearance shewed; as shifting of weapons from ship to ship, planting and bending of ordnance from the ship to the island where our men warded, passing to and fro of companies of men more than required for their necessary business, and many other ill likelihoods, which caused us to

have a vehement suspicion; and therewithal, sent to the Viceroy, to inquire what was meant by it.

Who sent, immediately, straight commandment to unplant all suspicious things; and also sent word that "he, on the faith of Viceroy, would be our defence from all villains."

Yet we, not being satisfied with this answer (because we suspected a great number of men to be hid in a great ship, of 900 tons, which was moored next unto the *Minion*), sent again to the Viceroy, the Master of the *Jesus* (who had the Spanish tongue), and required to be satisfied if any such thing were, or not.

The Viceroy seeing that the treason must be discovered; forthwith stayed our Master, blew the trumpet, and set upon us of all sides.

Our men, which warded ashore, being stricken with sudden fear, gave place, fled, and sought to recover succour from the ships. The Spaniards, being provided before for the purpose, landed in all places in multitudes from their ships, which they might easily do without boats; and slew all our men ashore without mercy. A few of them escaped aboard the *Jesus*.

The great ship, which had by the estimation, 300 men secretly placed in her, immediately fell aboard the *Minion*; which (by GOD's appointment) (in the time of suspicion we had, which was only half an hour) the *Minion* was made ready to avoid, and so loosing her head fasts, and hauling away by the stern fasts she was gotten out. Thus, with GOD's help, she defended the violence of the first brunt of these 300 men.

The *Minion* being passed out, they came aboard the *Jesus*; which also with very much ado, and the loss of many of our men, was defended, and they kept out.

Then were there also two other ships that assaulted the *Jesus* at the same instant; so that she had [a] hard getting loose: but yet, with some time, we had cut our head fasts, and gotten out by the stern fasts.

Now when the *Jesus* and the *Minion* were gotten abroad, two ships' length from the Spanish Fleet, the fight began hot of all sides [*that is, outside or in the mouth of the harbour*]: so that, within one hour, the admiral [*Flag Ship*] of the Spaniards

was supposed to be sunk, their vice admiral burned, and one other of their principal ships supposed to be sunk. So that the ships were little able to annoy us.

Then it is to be understood that all the ordnance upon the Island was in the Spaniards' hands, which did us so great annoyance, that it cut all the masts and yards of the *Jesus*; in such sort that there was no hope to carry her away. Also it sank all our small ships.

Whereupon, we determined to place the *Jesus* on that side of the *Minion*, that she might abide all the battery from the land, and so be a defence for the *Minion* till night; and then to take such relief of victuals and other necessaries from the *Jesus*, as time would suffer us, and so to leave her.

As we were thus determining, and had placed the *Minion* [away] from the shot of the land; suddenly, the Spaniards had fired two great ships, which were coming directly with us.

Having no means to avoid the fire, it bred among our men a marvellous fear: so that some said, "Let us depart with the *Minion*!" Others said, "Let us see whether the wind will carry the fire from us!" But, to be short, the *Minion*'s men, which had always their sails in a readiness, thought to make sure work; and so, without either consent of the Captain or Master, cut their sail; so that, very hardly, I was received into the *Minion*.

The most part of the men that were left alive in the *Jesus*, made shift, and followed the *Minion* in a small boat. The rest, which the little boat was not able to receive, were enforced to abide the mercy of the Spaniards; which I doubt was very little.

So with the *Minion* only, and the *Judith*, a small bark of 50 tons, we escaped: which bark, the same night, forsook us in our great misery.

We were now removed with the *Minion* from the Spanish ships two bow shots; and there rode all that night.

The next morning [24*th*], we recovered an island, a mile from the Spaniards: where there took us a north wind: and being left only with two anchors and two cables (for in this conflict, we lost three cables and two anchors), we thought always upon death, which ever was present; but GOD preserved us to a longer time.

The weather waxed reasonable, and the Saturday [25*th*] we

set sail; and having a great number of men and little victuals, our hope of life waxed less and less. Some desired to yield to the Spaniards. Some rather desired to obtain a place, where they might give themselves to the infidels [*Indians*]. And some hath rather abide with a little pittance, the mercy of GOD at sea.

So thus, with many sorrowful hearts, we wandered in an unknown sea, by the space of fourteen days, till hunger enforced us to seek the land. For hides were thought very good meat; rats, cats, mice, and dogs, none escaped that might be got. Parrots and monkeys that were had in great price [*were great pets*] were thought there very profitable if they served the turn of one dinner.

Thus, in the end, the 8th day of October, we came to the land, in the bottom [*or rather, at the east*] of the Bay of Mexico in $33\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ N. lat., where we hoped to have found inhabitants of the Spaniards, relief of victuals, and place for the repair of our ship: which was so sore beaten with shot from our enemies, and bruised with [the] shooting of our own ordnance; that our weary and weak arms were scarce able to defend and keep out the water. [*They would have found all the three things they needed, had they struck the coast ten leagues to the westward, where Tampico was situated, at the mouth of the Panuco; see pp.* 186, 232-3.]

But all things happened to the contrary, for we found neither people, victuals, nor haven of relief; but a place, where, having fair weather, we might, with some peril, land a boat.

Our people being forced with hunger, desired to be set a land; whereunto I concluded. And such as were willing to land, I put them apart; and such as were desirous to go homewards, I put apart. So that they were indifferently parted; a hundred [*the exact number landed was* 114, *see p.* 187] of one side, and a hundred of the other side.

These hundred men we set a land, with all diligence, in this little place before said: which being landed, we determined there to refresh our water; and so, with our little remain of victuals, to take the sea.

The next day, having a land with me, fifty of our hundred men that remained, for the speedier preparing of our water

aboard; there arose an extreme storm; so that, in three days we could by no means repair to our ship. The ship also was in such peril, that, every hour, we looked for shipwreck; but yet GOD again had mercy on us, and sent fair weather.

We had aboard our water, and departed the 16th of October; after which day, we had fair and prosperous weather till the 16th of November, which day, GOD be praised! we were clear from the coast of the Indians, and out of the channel and Gulf of Bahama, which is between the Cape of Florida, and the island of Cuba.

After this, growing near to the cold country; our men being oppressed with famine, died continually: and they that were left, grew into such weakness, that we were scarcely able to manure [*manœuvre*] our ship.

The wind being always ill for us to recover England, we determined to go with Galicia in Spain; with the intent there to relieve our company, and other extreme wants.

Being arrived the last day of December in a place near unto Vigo, called Ponte Vedra, our men, with excess of fresh meat, grew into miserable diseases; and a great part of them died.

This matter was borne out [*i.e., their crippled condition was concealed*] as long as it might be: but in the end, although there was none of our men suffered to go a land: yet, by the access of the Spaniards, our feebleness was known to them; whereupon they ceased not to seek by all means to betray us.

But, with all speed possible, we departed to Vigo; where we had some help of certain English ships, and twelve fresh men wherewith we repaired our wants as we might.

And departing, the 20th of January, 1569, we arrived in Mount's Bay in Cornwall, the 25th of the same month. Praised be GOD therefore!

¶ If all the miseries and troublesome affairs of this Sorrowful Voyage should be perfectly and thoroughly written; there should need a painful man with his pen, and as great a time as he [*i.e., JOHN FOX*] had, that wrote the Lives and Deaths of the Martyrs. JOHN HAWKINS.

FINIS.

III.—The Depositions in the English Admiralty Court.

The Depositions in the Admiralty Court as to the Fight at San Juan de Ulua, and the English losses there sustained, 23rd March, 1569.

These are preserved in *State Papers, Dom. Eliz., July*, 1569, *Vol.* 53, in the Public Record Office, London ; and throw a flood of light on many incidents of the fight, and on the prices of Negroes and other "wares" in the West Indies at this time.

The Depositions were made to eleven Interrogatories, and to a Schedule of values consisting of twenty-seven Items. The answers vary in importance as in fulness, according to the opportunities and position of the several Deponents in the fleet. The whole purpose of the Depositions was to get up the biggest possible bill against the King of Spain for the injuries received ; as a justification and groundwork for further attacks on him : as Drake thought and afterwards did.

We first give the testimony of one of the earliest of English traffickers in Spanish ships, to Mexico ; but who, however, was *not* with Hawkins in any of these Voyages. His deposition was evidently made to show, by an *independent* and competent authority, what were the current prices at Vera Cruz and the city of Mexico, of such goods as Hawkins had been spoiled of at San Juan de Ulua.

Principally, from this witness, William Fowler, we get the following table of monetary values, on the basis, as monetary unit, of the *Rial de Plata*, the "Rial of Silver" then roughly considered as equal to the English Sixpence.

English Money. [*Modern approximate value* × 8.]	Contemporary current value.	1560–1580 A.D.	Spanish. Rials.	Peso of Silver.	Peso of Gold.
	s. *d.*				
[40*s.*]	5 0	(p.285) *Peso. Coriente* silver...	10	= 1	
[44*s.*]	5 6	Spanish Ducat	11		
[53*s.*]	6 8	The normal *Peso de Plata* in the West Indies	13	= 1*	
[56*s.*]	7 0	The *Peso de Plata* in Mexico, Peru, and the inland districts of the Spanish Main	14	= 1	
[64*s.*]	8 0	*Peso d'Oro*...	16		= 1†
	[8 3 *p.* 547.]				
[260*s.*]	32 6	Mark *p.* 285	65	6½	4

* This is what is meant, when the word *Peso* only is used. It was an English ounce (troy weight) of silver; and was the monetary Unit of Central America; afterwards known as the Piece of Eight, and is the Mexican dollar of the present day. [The English Mint value for which is about 4*s.* 3*d.*, it being below the English Standard of fineness.—KELLY, *Cambist*, i. 391. *Ed.* 1811.]

† Always distinguished as the *Peso of Gold*.

In order to get some approximate corresponding modern value; the equivalents multiplied by eight are shown within square brackets [ ]. Some of the amounts seem marvellously great: but, of course, HAWKINS only took those things with him which brought the highest prices; and that was why he stained himself and England with Negro-hunting and Negro slavery.

Although it is no justification whatever, it is clear, from *p.* 29, that HAWKINS learnt the trade of slave-hunting from the Portuguese.

Then we have in the *State Papers*, the depositions of Sir JOHN HAWKINS himself.

Suppressing all legal verbiage, we give the substance of his depositions; and then add any additional points from those of the following eye-witnesses,

[Captain THOMAS HAMPTON, *æt.* 44, Captain of the *Minion*.]

WILLIAM CLARKE, *æt.* 28, one of the four Merchants [*Supercargoes*] appointed for the fleet; who, sailing in the *William and John*, escaped the Fight.

JOHN TOMMES, *æt.* 27, servant to Sir JOHN, and sailing with him in the *Jesus*.

JEAN TURREN, *æt.* 30, Trumpeter of the *Jesus*.

HUMPHREY FONES, *æt.* 25, Steward of the *Angel*.

It is curious that there is no deposition by DRAKE included in this Series, though he was present at the Fight.

The *William and John* was not at the Fight; but was represented, as the sixth ship of the original Squadron, by a caravel captured at sea, and christened the *Grace of God*, a remarkable name for a slaver.

William Fowler, of Ratcliffe, in the kingdom of England, merchant, of about 38 years of age; witnesseth,

E knoweth shipping to be very dear both at Seville in Andalusia, in Spain; and at the harbour of la Vera Cruz [*the true Cross*] in the West Indias. For the ton freight is 30 Ducats [=£8 5*s.*=£66 *now*] from Seville to la Vera Cruz; and so much money more, from la Vera Cruz to Seville: which, in the whole, is 60 Ducats [£16 10*s.*= £132 *now*] the ton freight.

For he hath traded from Seville, to the said port of la Vera Cruz, [the city of] Mexico, and other places in the West Indies; hath been there six several times; hath carried wares to and fro, from the same places; and hath paid for freight, after the like rate.

That by the experience of the trade which he hath had to and at the said place, called la Vera Cruz, and other the chief places of the West Indias; this Deponent knoweth that a Negro of a good stature and young of years is worth, and is commonly bought and sold there at Mexico, and the Mainland of the West Indias, for 400, 500, and 600 *pesos* [=£100, £125, or £150=*or about* £800, £1,000, or £1,200 *now*].

For if a Negro be a *Bossale*, that is to say, "ignorant of the Spanish or Portuguese tongue," then he or she is commonly sold for 400 and 450 *pesos* [=£100 or £112 10*s.*].

But if the Negro can speak any of the foresaid languages anything indifferently, who is called *Ladinos*, then the same Negro is commonly sold for 500 and 600 *pesos* [=£125, *or* £150]; as the Negro is of choice, and young of years.

And this Deponent saith that the best trade in those places is of Negroes: the trade whereof he hath used, and hath sold Negroes at the said places; and seen other merchants likewise sell their Negroes there, divers times.

Which Negroes, being carried into the inner and farther parts of the Mainland of Peru, be commonly sold there for 800 and 900 *pesos* of 14 *Rials*. [*The inland price of a Negro therefore varied from* £280 *to* £315=*about* £2,240 *to* £2,480].

The Peso being worth at la Vera Cruz 13 Rials of Plate of the Spanish coin, being 6*s*. 8*d*. sterling: and in other places of Mexico, Peru, and Mainland the said Peso is worth 14 Rials, which is 7*s*. sterling.

A Fardel of Linen Cloth called *Ordmardas* or *Preselias*, is worth and commonly sold at la Vera Cruz for 250 pesos of 13 Rials [@ 6*s*. 8*d*.=*about* £83] which is after the rate of 3,250 Rials the Fardel.

And the Linen Cloth called Roanes is sold there after the rate of 226 pesos the Fardel, which is 2,940 Rials. For this Deponent hath sold, and seen other merchants sell, divers times, Linen Cloth after that rate at la Vera Cruz and Mexico.

That a lb. of *Magaritas* [? *Periwinkles*; the word also means *Pearls*] is worth at la Vera Cruz, 18 and 20 Rials [=9*s*. *and* 10*s*.=£3 12*s*. *and* £4 *now*] for he hath sold, and seen other merchants so sell, there, commonly after that rate. Notwithstanding he saith that he hath sold a lb. of Margaritas at la Vera Cruz for 30 Rials and sometime 3 pesos (39 Rials) [=15*s*. *and* 19*s*. 6*d*.=£6 *and* £7 16*s*. *now*].

That pewter vessel and kerseys called "Hampshire" and "Northerns" be commonly worth and sold at la Vera Cruz for the several prices following,

1 lb. (being 16 ounces) of Pewter at 4, and sometimes 5 Rials [2*s*. *and* 2*s*. 6*d*.=16*s*. *and* £1 *now*].

The good "Hampshire Kersey," containing commonly 18 Vares [*The Vare was* 33⅜ *English inches.* KELLY, *idem.*], which is about 17 English yards; at 36 ducats [*which is after* 2 *ducats, or* 22 *Rials the Vare*].

And the "Northern Kersey" [*of the same length*], for 21½ ducats [=234 Rials] which is after 13 Rials the Vare.

A piece of Cotton of 61 Vares [*about* 57 *yards*] of length, is worth and is commonly sold at la Vera Cruz for 30½ ducats which is after 5½ Rials [=2*s.* 9*d.*] the Vare [*or nearly* 3*s. a Yard*].

A Quintall [100 lbs.] of Wax is worth commonly at Vera Cruz, 40 ducats [=£11=*about* £88 *now*].

A Butt [130 gallons] of Seck [*Sack, i.e., our modern Sherry*] is worth commonly at la Vera Cruz, 100 pesos [£33 6*s.* 8*d.* =*about* £266 *now*].

DEPOSITIONS AS TO THE FIGHT, ETC.

The Deposition of WILLIAM CLARKE.

HE was entertained by Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and others of the Company to sail in the said fleet as a Merchant [*Supercargo*], to assist the said JOHN HAWKINS in state of traffic, and making accounts of the same voyage: and sailed in the *William and John*.

All the treasure was, immediately after the traffic, brought on board the *Jesus* of Lubeck, and left there, by the consent and knowledge of this Deponent, in the custody of the said JOHN HAWKINS, to the use of the said Company.

The £200 of plate was put in a chest; and the 22,000 Pesos of Gold into little chests and bags.

This Examinate was present at all the traffics and truck of merchandize; and was commonly aboard the *Jesus* while she remained upon any coast where the traffic was: being one of four specially appointed, which made also the accounts, and kept the same.

Being near Cape St. Antonio, the *William and John*, wherein this Deponent then sailed, was separated from the other ships of the Fleet, in a great storm happening about

the 15th day of August last. Since which time he never had sight of the said Fleet; but was driven to and from, with much contrary winds, till, at the last, the *William and John*, without any other company of ships, arrived upon the coast of Ireland, in the month of February last [1569].

The Deposition of JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

N THE year 1567, the articulate Sir WILLIAM GARRARD Knight, ROWLAND HEYWARD Alderman of London, and others joined with them in Society and Company, did furnish a Fleet of six ships for a voyage to the coast of Guinea and other foreign regions, for merchandize to be had with the inhabitants of those countries. In which respect, they, the said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company, did also then provide, prepare, and lade in those ships much wares and merchandize necessary and meet for those parts: the whole charges of which preparation amounted to the sum of about £16,500 [=*about* £130,000].

That by Commission of the said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and others of his Company, who had the direction of that Navigation and Voyage, he was appointed and authorized General of the said Fleet: and had to him committed, by their authority, not only the chief rule, government, and order of the said Fleet; but also of the state of Traffic in such places as he should arrive and come unto. The which government, he took upon him accordingly, and went upon the same voyage, doing and procuring the affairs of the said Company, according to the trust given. And in the beginning of October was twelve month, being in the said year 1567, he departed from Plymouth, with said Fleet towards the coast of Guinea.

That he, with the Fleet aforesaid, did arrive upon the coast of Guinea, in November, *anno* 1567; where this Deponent, and other Merchants [*Supercargoes*] appointed by the said Company for the assistance of traffic, did purchase [!] and buy [!] a good quantity of Negroes. And from thence departed with them unto the West Indies. In which

country he, and WILLIAM CLARKE, with other Factors [*Supercargoes*], did traffic with the inhabitants there: and did receive, in truck and exchange of wares and commodities, to the said Company's use and behalf, so much treasure and commodities as amounted to the sum of 29,743 Pesos of Gold [@ 8*s.* *each*=£11,897 4*s.*=*about* £100,000 *now*]. Which treasure, upon the said traffic, was brought wholly, from time to time, upon board the *Jesus* of Lubeck, wherein he sailed himself, by order and consent of the said Merchants.

Of which treasure there were—

22,000 Pesos of Gold, in bars and pieces of gold.

4,000 Pesos of Silver, in *Coriente*.

£200 sterling in divers sorts of plate.

The rest was in other commodities purchased and bought in the said parts of the West Indies.

After the traffic was made of the treasure and other commodities, the Fleet whereof he had charge and government, did set their course from Cartagena, a place in the West Indies, to the Cape called St. Antonio, in the west point of the island of Cuba.

And when the said Fleet approached near to the said Cape, they were constrained by force of weather to enter into the Bay of Mexico, not being able to recover the said Cape, or to keep the course determined; and, through cruel storms and contrary winds, were forced to enter the haven of St. John de Lowe [*San Juan de Ulua*]; where this Deponent arrived the 16th of September last or thereabouts, minding for the time of his there abode and tarriance to behave himself there towards the King of Spain's subjects in quiet and loving manner; and, after a small abode, and some refreshing had there, to depart towards England.

The 20th day of the said month of September last, there arrived in the said haven, the new Viceroy of Mexico, and the General of the Spanish fleet of thirteen great ships: the which Viceroy General and their company did outwardly make a resemblance and show of amity and peace. And made proclamation by sound of trumpet, which this Deponent did hear: the effect whereof was, that "no violence nor out-

rageous dealing should be showed to the Englishmen, but they should be courteously entertained, upon pain of death." And to that effect, amongst other things, the said Viceroy gave his promise, by writing subscribed and sealed with his hand and seal; which was delivered to this Deponent. And for the better conservation of peace, the said Viceroy did deliver to this Deponent ten pledges (as he promised, gentlemen!): and, in like manner, he did consent that there should be ten pledges of Englishmen given to the said Viceroy, for the same intent and purpose.

In consideration of the said Viceroy's proclamation, he, this Deponent, caused to be proclaimed by sound of trumpet, that "none of his company should break the peace, or give occasion of quarrel to the Spaniards, upon pain of his displeasure." Whereupon, the Englishmen remained in quiet manner till such time as they were assaulted by the said Viceroy of his adherents; who first began the fight, contrary to their fidelity and Christian dealing.

Soon after that the said Viceroy was entered into the said haven, he or his adherents the Spaniards gathered from the mainland a great number of men, in most secret manner, as well into his said fleet of thirteen ships as into other Spanish ships which were in the same haven before, to the number of eight or nine ships. And amongst others had manned one great Hulk of the burden of 800 tons, and placed and put into her, to this Deponent's judgement, about 300 men more than she had before. And besides this, the said Spaniards had fastened a hawser from the said Hulk to the head cable of the *Jesus* in the night time; which Hulk did ride within twenty yards or thereabouts from the same *Jesus*. And having brought their business thus to pass, they planted their ordnance from their ships towards the Englishmen which were upon the little island which maketh the haven.

Upon the intelligence of these things, he, this Deponent, sent one of his company, ROBERT BARRET, to understand what these innovations did mean; and to request him that he would see the peace to be preserved according to his promise.

And the said Viceroy perceiving, as it seemed, that his intended enterprise was discovered; and to the intent this Deponent should have no time to provide for his defence, stayed

the said BARRET, presently blew the defiance, shot off the Spanish ordnance at the Englishmen which were in the said island, and upon the same there suddenly landed on the island about 800 Spaniards and other inhabitants of that country, who slew almost all the Englishmen which were there a land.

Moreover, at the same instant, the said great Hulk by hauling the hawser which was fastened to the *Jesus*, as is aforesaid, boarded first the *Minion*, and then the *Jesus* (wherein this Deponent then was), riding hard aboard one another.

And this Deponent saith the Spaniards began the fight unlooked for on the English side. And so the Spaniards continued shooting off their artillery, both from the Platform [*battery*] which was upon the said island and hard upon [*close to*] the English ships, and also from their ships, in most cruel manner, by the space of about eight or nine hours, from about eight o'clock in the morning till the evening following the same day; which cruel fight was done on the twenty-third day of the said month of September.

In the afternoon of the same day that the said fight was thus begun, and during the same, the Spaniards did set a fire two of their ships; and afterwards drived them towards the *Jesus* and the *Minion*: to the intent and purpose, as he thinketh, to destroy the English ships there, or else to cause them to yield unto them.

And whereas, this Deponent had, all that day, attended to the defence of the *Jesus*, and his company by their good travail and manliness had stoutly stood unto the same defence; the sudden approaching of the fired ships made a great alteration of things.

For the *Minion* did, without this Deponent's commandment or the Captain's (as he saith), set sail, for fear of the fire; to withdraw herself out of the way of those fired ships: which caused the men of the *Jesus* to be much more troubled, for that she could not be removed out of that place with any sail, and was the hardlier [*with more difficulty*] to be kept, upon the departure of the *Minion*.

So that this Deponent perceiving the sudden fear of his men, and the imminent danger that they stood in for the safeguard of themselves, leaped into the *Minion*, out of the said *Jesus;* whereunto he was very hardly [*with great dif-*

ficulty] received: for, in that instant, was she under sail, and departing from off board the *Jesus*. Whereas this Deponent had determined otherwise to have kept the *Jesus* till night; and then to have saved and brought such things [*i.e.*, *the great treasure*] out of her into the *Minion* as he conveniently might: and by this occasion, he left behind him in the *Jesus* such things as he hereafter expressed in his Deposition to the Schedule.

If he had tarried ever so little longer upon board the said *Jesus*, he could not, by any means, have gotten therehence; neither escaped the hands of the Spaniards, which would have been to his utter confusion.

And this Deponent did see the *Swallow* and the *Grace of God* taken by force of the Spaniards, in the aforesaid fight; and by them possessed: and the *Angel* was sunk by the ordnance which the Spaniards shot off from the Platform [on the island].

And shortly after that this Deponent was departed forth of the *Jesus*, the Spaniards entered into her also; and possessed her in his sight: whereby he was not only spoiled by the said Spaniards of the said four ships, with their ordnance, apparel, furniture, and victuals; but also of the wares and goods [*i.e.*, *the treasure*] particularly valued in his Depositions to the Schedule.

The Deposition of HUMPHREY FONES, *Steward of the* Angel.

HE AT the beginning of the fight, was in the *Angel*, and there remained till she was like[ly] to sink by the great shot from off the Platform on the shore which the Spaniards kept: and, for saving of himself came aboard the *Minion*.

Upon the approaching of the fired ships, the men that were in the *Minion* then riding hard aboard the *Jesus*, were in great fear and perplexity to be fired. Insomuch that, upon the sudden, the men cut her foresail: whereupon divers of the said *Jesus* men did leap into the *Minion* to save them-

selves; amongst whom, the above named HAWKINS was one, And certain leapt short of the *Minion* and were drowned.

At which time, the said HAWKINS could not save the things that were in the *Jesus*: which was so beaten with the Spanish ordnance that she could not be removed from the place where she lay at anchor; her foreyard being broken and the masts perished with the shot.

If the said HAWKINS had but the space of one minute deferred his coming off from the said *Jesus*, either he had in her, by reason of the continual shooting at her, been slain, or else taken by the Spaniards: for the said *Jesus* lay as a bulwark and succoured the *Minion*, so as all the shot and battery of the Spanish ordnance rested upon the *Jesus*.

He himself lost the worth of 20 marks [=£13 6*s*. 8*d*.] which he left in the *Angel*; and could not carry the same away, being narrowly driven that he could scarcely save himself; for he escaped out of the *Angel* in his doublet and hose.

The Deposition of JEAN TURREN, *Trumpeter in the* Jesus.

HE WAS Trumpeter unto the said HAWKINS, in the *Jesus*, and then blew the trumpet himself [*on the occasion of Sir J. HAWKINS's proclaiming the Truce to the English fleet*].

The *Jesus* was not prepared for the fight, but altogether unready, by reason the Englishmen (not mistrusting the breach of friendship, and falsehood of the Spaniards) had minded to set carpenters a work, the next day, to mend her.

The English ships could not without present [*instant*] danger of shipwreck avoid the fight, nor escape the Spanish shot; for that the haven was very little, and the wind did not serve to get out.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, the Spaniards set a fire two of their own ships.

The Spaniards took the *Grace of God* and the *Swallow*, whose anchors lay fastened upon the shore, and thereby were the easier to be gotten; for the one ship lay fast aboard the other.

Depositions to the twenty-seven Articles of the Schedule.

Schedule 1.—*The ship* Jesus *of Lubeck, with her tackle and furniture* .... **£5,000.**

[∴ This is the amount that was claimed by Sir William Garrard and his Company for the ship in its perfect order as it was sent forth from England.]

John Hawkins, Esq.

He did carry with him out of England, the said ship call the *Jesus* of Lubeck, in the which he sailed all the last Voyage from England to the West Indias; and the same was appointed one of his fleet by Sir William Garrard and his Company: which was of the burthen of 700 tons and upwards, well furnished in all respects and points for such a long voyage.

At such time as the Spaniards *began* the fight, as it is before by him deposed, she was worth, in his judgement, the sum of **£4,000** sterling, besides her ordnance: especially in the haven of Vera Cruz and other places in the West Indias. For this Deponent, having used the trade of merchandize, built, bought, and sold ships, do know very well, what doth belong unto shipping: and thereby judgeth the said *Jesus* to be worth, at the time aforesaid, the said sum of **£4,000**, as ships be commonly bought and sold, both in England and Spain; especially at Seville, where, to this Deponent's knowledge, ships be sold much dearer than in England for the occupying of merchandize.

And trading with the Merchants of Spain, he knoweth a ton freight from Seville to the West Indias, to be commonly in price and rate, 30 ducats [=£8 5*s.*=*about* £66 *now*] and between 30, and 36 ducats [=£9 18*s.*=*about* £80 *now*].

SCHEDULE 2.—*The ordnance of the* Jesus, *as sent out of England* .... **£2,000.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE ordinary ordnance of the *Jesus* in her, at the time of the fight aforesaid, was worth ... **£1,800**

There were two whole-culverins, two cannons, five demi-culverins, three sacres, and two falcons. All which pieces were of brass, and worth 1,200

And besides, there were in her, at that time, these pieces of iron ordnance; first, three demi-culverins; *item*, five sacres; *item*, two whole slings; *item*, ten fowlers; *item*, thirty bases. And the same iron ordnance he esteemeth worth 350

And more, he doth judge the value of the shot, carriages, and the other furniture which belonged to the said ordnance, to be, *then*, well worth 250

£1,800

This Deponent, as he saith, hath good experience what ordnance is worth, by reason he had made, divers times, provision of ordnance for his shipping: and that such ordnance as this was, with their carriages and furniture, is and would be commonly sold for the said sum of **£1,800** sterling.

SCHEDULE 3.—*Ammunition* .... **£1,000.**

[∴ It should be remembered that this ammunition was actually expended in fighting the Spaniards.]

AT THE time of the fight aforesaid, there were these parcels of munition [*ammunition*] ensuing, provided at the charges and expenses of the said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company.

	£	s.	d.
First, 4 barrels of Serpentine [gun]powder, at £5 sterling the barrel, and every barrel contained 1 cwt.	20	0	0
Item, 50 barrels of Corn [gun]powder, at £6			

	£	s.	d.
13s. 4d. the barrel; and every barrel contained 1 cwt.	333	6	8
And there were, in addition, at the same time of the fight, in the three ships, the *Swallow*, the *Grace of God*, and the *Angel*, 10 barrels of [corn] gunpowder, worth [*at* £6 13*s.* 4*d.*]	66	13	4
	£420	**0**	**0**

Moreover there were, then, in all the same four ships, these parcels of armour; which were also provided upon the charge of Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company.

		£	s.	d.
First, 70 Corslets	[*at about* 24*s. each*] worth	85	0	0
Item, 250 Jacks	[*at* 10*s. each*] worth ...	125	0	0
Item, 250 Pikes	[*at* 3*s. each*] worth ...	37	10	0
Item, 250 Calivers	[*at* 20*s. each*] worth ...	250	0	0
Item, 40 Partizans	[*at* 13*s.* 4*d. each*] worth	26	13	4
Item, 200 Brown Bills	[*at* 1*s.* 6*d. each*] worth...	15	0	0
Item, 100 Bows and 100 Sheafs of Arrows [*at* 5*s. the Bow and Sheaf of Arrows*] worth		25	0	0
All which sums do amount to...		**£984**	**3**	**4**

Which this Deponent knoweth the better, for that he hath good experience in armour and munition, and by that occasion, knoweth, that the like of such parcels afore declared, be commonly bought and sold for the several prices above declared.

Of all which parcels, this Deponent was spoiled by the Spaniards, in the fight before by him declared.

SCHEDULE 4. — *Two anchors and three cables, belonging to the* Minion .... **£200.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

IN THE fight before mentioned, the *Minion* (which was set forth, this last voyage, by the appointment of the said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company); the better to shift for herself from the fired ships (being, in a manner, come upon her), did lose in the said

haven, two anchors and three cables of her tackle and furniture; for the want of which, this Deponent and his company, in their return to England in the said ship, were in great danger of their lives, and put to great extremities.

That (by reason he hath been traded in navigations and voyages; and hath used the seas) he hath good experience in cordage and anchors; and thereby knoweth the same to be worth **£130** sterling, and that such cables and anchors be commonly bought and sold in England, for the same sum.

SCHEDULE 5.—*The ship* Swallow, *with her tackle, furniture, and ordnance; and the provisions and sailors' effects on aboard, as sent out of England* .... **£850.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE ship articulate, called the *Swallow*, was of the Adventure of the said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company, and one of the said fleet of six ships; which was a new ship of about 100 tons portage, very well conditioned, good of sail, and well furnished with ordnance. And therefore, this Deponent saith, that she was worth, at the beginning of the said fight, with her victuals and other necessaries and preparation lost in her, the said sum of **£850** sterling; according as the like ships, ordnance, and furniture be commonly sold in England: and for that money, might have been commonly sold in this realm; and especially at Seville in Spain aforesaid, agreeing to his experience and knowledge above remembered.

SCHEDULE 6.—*The ship* Angel *with her tackle, furniture, and ordnance; and the provisions and sailors' effects on board, as sent out of England* .... **£180.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE *Angel* articulate was of the said Company's Adventure, which was of about 32 tons burthen. And she was worth at the beginning of the said fight, the sum of **£180.**

SCHEDULE 7.—*The ship* The Grace of God, *with her tackle, furniture, and ordnance; and the provisions and sailors' effects on board* .... **£400.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE said ship, called *The Grace of God* was of the said Company's Adventure, and of this Deponent's fleet likewise; being but a new ship, and of the burthen of about 150 tons. And thereby, this Deponent judgeth that she was worth, at the beginning of the said fight, in her hull, apparel, ordnance, victuals and other necessaries, the sum of **£350** sterling; as shipping is commonly bought and sold in England, and especially at Seville in Spain.

JOHN TOMMES, *HAWKINS's servant.*

The *Grace of God* was about 150 tons burthen.

SCHEDULE 8.—*Fifty-seven Negroes in the* Jesus *and the other three ships aforesaid, each worth in the West Indies* 400 Pesos of Gold *at* [8*s. the Peso* =] £160 *the slave* [=*now about* £1,250] .... **£9,120.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

AFTER the traffic (by him deposed to before); the *Jesus*, the *Swallow*, the *Grace of God*, and the *Angel* departing from Cartagena, brought in them, from thence unto the Port of Vera Cruz, forty-five Negroes, of goodly stature, shape, and personage; and young of years, being the choice and principal of all the Negroes which were gotten and purchased in the last voyage at Guinea. And moreover, there were twelve other Negroes carried then in the *Minion* to Vera Cruz.

All which forty-five Negroes were of the said Company's goods and adventure; and were either slain in the fight at Vera Cruz, or then taken by the Spaniards, from the possession of this said Deponent. And the other twelve Negroes, which were in the *Minion*, might have been sold [!] at the said Port of Vera Cruz greatly to the profit of the said Sir

WILLIAM GARRARD and Company, if the said Spaniards had not used such violence; by reason whereof, this Deponent was enforced to depart from the said Port of Vera Cruz sooner than he thought to do.

At such time, as he was at Vera Cruz, being in September last as before, the said 57 Negroes, one with another, might have been sold at Vera Cruz for 400 Pesos of Gold every Negro. And for reason of his better knowledge, he saith that he hath sold, and seen others buy and sell Negroes at Rio de la Hacha and other hither* places of the West Indias, both this last summer, and in two other voyages before; and, by that experience, knoweth that such choice Negroes be commonly sold there for 150 Pesos of Gold [=£60 =*about* £500 *now*].

And saith, that, this last year, there was one choice Negro sold Rio de la Hacha for 150 Pesos of Gold; and yet (in this Deponent's judgement) that Negro was not worth so much money as many of the said 45 Negroes were. For the Englishmen, Frenchmen, and Portuguese do bring many Negroes to the said hither places of the West Indias; but none that ever this Deponent could hear of, to the haven of Vera Cruz; being about 600 leagues sailing beyond these hither places. By reason whereof, the Negroes and all other wares [!] must be dearer bought and sold there, than in the other said hither and near places.†

JOHN TOMMES.

There were ten or twelve Negroes or thereabouts in the *Minion;* whereof she brought seven into England [*see p.*], and the rest died by the way homewards.

SCHEDULE 9.—30 *Bales of Linen Cloth* at [3,000 Rials of Silver =] £75 [= about £600 now the Bale] .... **£2,250.**

* *Hither places, i.e.*, nearer to England, by the ordinary course of English navigation in the West Indies. What is meant are the ports in the Carribean Sea; which were frequented by English ships before the Bay of Mexico was known to them.

† Of course this is merely an argument here for a fictitious price: but unless WILLIAM FOWLER perjured himself (see *p.* 106-8) 400 Pesos of Gold for a Negro was under rather than over the mark.

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

WHEN the *Jesus* departed last from Cartagena, as aforesaid, she had left in her, 30 Fardels of Linen Cloth, belonging to the said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company: whereof 25 Fardels were good *Ordmardas*, called in the West Indias, *Preselias*; and 5 Fardels were Roanes.

At the said Rio de la Hacha and the coast thereabouts, divers Fardels of like *Ordmardas* were commonly sold by this Deponent and others, this last year, for the value of 2,290 Rials of Plate of Spanish coin, every Fardel: and divers Fardels of like Roanes were commonly sold by this Deponent and others for 2,100 Rials of Plate, every Fardel. And, therefore, this Deponent vainly believeth that the said 30 Fardels of Linen Cloth would have been sold at Vera Cruz for 3,000 Rials of Plate, every Fardel.

Which said 30 Fardels were, in the said *Jesus*, brought to the said Port of Vera Cruz; and there, in her remaining, at such time as this Deponent did there forsake the *Jesus* by the sudden invasion and violence of said Spaniards done unto him and his company as before specified.

SCHEDULE 10. — 1,000 *Pintados* [at 15s. each] .... **£750.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE *Jesus* brought in her, from Cartagena, 900 *Pintados*, which were left of the whole number brought out of England, at the said Company's Adventure, to the said haven of Vera Cruz. And in this last voyage, he and others sold at Barboroatta and Santa Marta, the like Pintados for a *Peso* and a half *of Gold* [= 12*s.*] apiece; and so were they commonly sold there.

And of those Pintados, was this Deponent likewise spoiled by the Spaniards, at the port of Vera Cruz, as above mentioned.

SCHEDULE 11.— 400 *lbs.* ejus generis quæ vulgo dicunter *Margaritas, at* 5*s.* .... **£100.**

SCHEDULE 12.—300 *lbs. of Pewter* [at 2s. a lb.] [*worth*] .... **£30.**

SCHEDULE 13.—*A Bale of Broad Taffetas, containing* 40 *Spanish Vares* .... **£40.**

SCHEDULE 14.—4 *Bales* [of 11 pieces each] *of woollen cloths called* Hampshires [*i.e., Kersies*] *and* Northerns .... **£340.**

SCHEDULE 15.—6 *Bales of Cottons at £*15 *each* [*worth*] .... **£90.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

UPON the foresaid traffic made by this Deponent, in that last voyage, there was left of the said Company's goods, these parcels of wares following; which this Deponent brought in the *Jesus* from the port of Cartagena to Vera Cruz. 400 lbs. of Margaritas; 300 lbs. of Pewter; A case of Broad Taffetas, containing 40 Spanish Vares; 4 Packs of "Hampshires" and "Northerns;" 6 Packs of Cottons. Whereof, this Deponent was spoiled by the Spaniards in the said haven of Vera Cruz, as above declared.

And as touching the value of these wares, this Deponent saith that the like wares unto those, were sold at Barboroatta, Rio de la Hacha, and other places in the West Indies, by this Deponent and others, for the several prices underwritten.

The lb. of Pewter, for 4½ Rials of Silver [2*s.* 3*d.*].

The lb. of Margaritas, for a Peso of Gold [=8*s.*].

The Vare of Taffeta, for 3 Pesos of Gold [=24*s.*].

A [*i.e.*, a piece of Hampshires] Kersey at 18 Pesos of Gold [=£7 4*s.*] the piece [*of* 17 *English yards*]; of which 11 be contained in every pack [*i.e.*, 198 *Pesos of Gold, the pack*].

The piece of "Northerns" at 14 Pesos of Gold [=£5 17*s.*], whereof 11 be contained in every pack [*i.e.*, 154 *Pesos of Gold, the pack*].

And the Piece of Cottons, at 15 Pesos of Gold [=£6], whereof 5 make the pack [*i.e.*, 90 *Pesos of Gold, the pack*]; and every piece of Cottons containeth 61 Vares.

SCHEDULE 16.—*A chest of* 30 *gilt rapiers, with their daggers and girdles* .... **£120.**

SCHEDULE 17.—12 *Quintals* (100 *lbs.*) *of Wax* [at £10 each] .... **£120.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE said Sir WILLIAM GARRARD and Company had in the *Jesus*, after the traffic aforesaid, these parcels also; which this Deponent brought from Cartagena.

A chest of gilt rapiers, with their daggers and girdles, and 12 Quintals of Wax.

Whereof the Spaniards spoiled this Deponent in the fight aforesaid.

Like rapiers unto these were worth, and commonly sold in that voyage in the West Indies, for 10 and 12 Pesos of Gold [=£4 *and* £4 16*s.*] the piece.

And judgeth the common price of wax in the West Indias to be £10 sterling the hundred [lbs. or Quintal].

SCHEDULE 18.—*Seven tons of Manilios, at* £50.... .... **£350.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

HIS Deponent knoweth well that the Company aforesaid, had remaining in the *Jesus*, the *Swallow*, the *Grace of God*, and the *Angel*, 6 tons of Manilios, at the least, sent by them out of England; which cost, the first penny, one ton with another, £46 13s. 4d. sterling.

And of those wares also was this Deponent dispossessed, and spoiled by the Spaniards, in the fight aforesaid.

SCHEDULE 19.—*A bag of gold and silver in the* Jesus, *containing* 600 *Pesos of Gold and Silver* **£2,000.**

SCHEDULE 20.—*A chest of Silver Plate, in the* Jesus, *worth* .... **£200.**

SCHEDULE 21.—Coriente *silver, in the* Jesus [*worth*] .... **£500.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

HE LEFT such quantity of treasure and plate in the *Jesus*. Of which treasure he was spoiled by the violence of the Spaniards.

JOHN TOMMES (*HAWKINS's servant*).

Hath helped to lay up the Silver Plate, when it was used aboard at the receiving of any Spaniards, and it was as much as he could conveniently carry.

SCHEDULE 22.—*In the four ships*, 20 *butts* vini Cretici et Hispanici vulgo, *Malmeseys, and Secks* [Sack, the modern Sherry], [at £15 the butt] .... **£300.**

SCHEDULE 23.—*In the same*, 36 *barrels of meal, at* £4 .... **£144.**

SCHEDULE 24.—*In the same, other victuals and necessaries, to the value of* .... **£150.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THERE were, in the said four ships which were lost at the time of the said fight, so much victuals as is here specified; which he esteemeth to be no less worth than is particularly specified in these articles; for this Deponent being well experienced in victualling of ships, knoweth that the same can be worth no less.

WILLIAM CLARKE, *Merchant in the Fleet.*

There could be no less quantity of wines, meat, and other victuals in the *Jesus* (where the said HAWKINS sailed himself) and the other three ships: because the ship called the *William and John* [*wherein CLARKE was*], at her departure from Cartagena, had in her dry muttons [*sheep*], peas, bacon, rice, maize, beef, stock fish, and biscuit; worth £60 sterling. And besides, she had then 3 butts of Canary wine, and 13 barrels of meal. And therefore he judgeth that the other four ships above mentioned, had their share and store of wine and

victuals proportionably; and believeth that the *Jesus* had most of all; for that she had in her, much provision for the relief of all the fleet in time of need.

And the company in the *William and Mary*, being [*evidently after their separation from* HAWKINS] in necessity of meal; he did buy meal about 140 leagues on this side of the haven of Vera Cruz, after the rate of 40 Rials of Plate [=£1] the English bushel; which is at the rate of £7 sterling for every barrel of meal.

HUMPHREY FONES, *Steward of the* Angel.

There was in the *Angel* at the time she was sunk, 1½ butts of Canary wine, 2 barrels and more of meal, 1 hogshead of pickled pork, 1 hogshead of rice, 3 hogsheads of pease, 250 stock fish, 1 butt of maize, 1 butt of biscuit, 24 dried sheep, and 1 hogshead of beer: for this Deponent, being the Steward, of the *Angel*, did make these sorts and quantities of victuals the better; and knoweth that the other ships were provided of the same kind of victuals, every one agreeing to their burden and bigness.

SCHEDULE 25.—*In the* Jesus, *the apparel and furniture of* JOHN HAWKINS, *Esquire* .... **£300.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

His apparel and furniture was worth much more.

For he left in the *Jesus*, through the said violence of the Spaniards, these parcels of apparel and furniture ensuing.

First,	300 lbs. weight of pewter ...	worth	£ 30
Item,	Twelve pieces of Tapestry ...	worth	100
Item,	His bedding and other things belonging unto the same...	worth	40
Item,	Apparel and linen	worth	140
Item,	Three corslets of proof	worth	30
Item,	His provision of spice, sugar, marmalade, and conserves	worth	40
Item,	Instruments of the sea, books and other things	worth	60
			£440

WILLIAM CLARKE, *Merchant in the Fleet.*

He saw Master HAWKINS wear, in this Voyage, divers suits of apparel of velvets and silks, with buttons of gold, and pearl; with other apparel and furniture: which in his judgement, might well be worth £250.

SCHEDULE 26.—*In the* Jesus, *chests and bundles of the sailors* .... **£900.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

HE BELIEVETH in his conscience, that the same is true. For he had in the *Jesus* 180 men; whereof part were Officers in the ships, part gentlemen of good houses; and some Surgeons, and some Merchants; whereof divers had their provision worth £40 sterling, and many lost £20. So that he believeth that the men's losses in the *Jesus* could be no less worth than is articulated.

SCHEDULE 27.—*In the* Jesus, *a bale* 20 mantellorum vulgo dicitur, *a Pack of Twenty Cloaks, each worth* £4 .... **£80.**

JOHN HAWKINS, Esq.

THE Company had in the *Jesus*, 20 cloaks; whereof this Deponent was spoiled by the Spaniards in the fight aforesaid.

Those cloaks were worth £3 sterling apiece; for the like were commonly sold in the West Indies by this Deponent and others for 8 Pesos of God [= £3 12*s*.].

JEAN TURREN, *Trumpeter.*

There was in the *Jesus*, a Pack of 20 Cloaks of sundry colours; which he did brush and make clean sometimes during that Voyage.

Sir John Hawkins's pretended treachery, in the Summer of 1571; carried on with the knowledge and under the sanction of Queen Elizabeth and Lord Burleigh.

Sir John Hawkins.

Letter of 13th May, 1571, to Lord Burghley, to arrange for Fitzwilliams to have access to the Queen of Scots.

[*State Papers. Scotland. Mary, Queen of Scots. Vol. 6. No. 61.*]

Our good Lordship may be advertised, that Fitzwilliams hath been in the country to deliver his tokens, and to have had some speech with the Queen of Scots; which, by no means, he could obtain. Whereupon, he hath devised with me, that I should make some means to obtain him license to have access unto her, for her letter to the King of Spain, for the better obtaining of our men's liberty: which, otherwise, are not to be released; which device I promised him I would follow.

And if it shall seem good unto your Lordship, he may be recommended by such credit as to your Lordship shall seem best: for, unless she be first spoken with, and answer from her sent into Spain, the credit for the treasure cannot be obtained.

If your Lordship think meet that Fitzwilliams shall be recommended to speak with her; if I may know by what sort your Lordship will appoint, there shall [be] all diligence

for his despatch used. And hereof I most humbly pray your good Lordship's speedy resolution.

And thus I rest (13th of May, 1571).

Your Good Lordship's most humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKINS

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable Lord BURGHLEY; give these!

JOHN HAWKINS.

Letter of the 7th June, 1571, to Lord BURGHLEY, desiring that FITZ-WILLIAMS may have license to go to Spain.

[*State Papers. Scotland. MARY, Queen of Scots. Vol. 6. No. 73.*]

OUR good Lordship may be advertised that FITZ-WILLIAMS is returned, and hath letters from the Queen of Scots to the King of Spain; which are enclosed with others in a packet directed unto your Lordship.

He hath also a book of gold (sent from her, to the Duchess of FERIA) with the Old Service in Latin; and in the end hath written this word, with her own hand, *Absit nobis gloriari, nisi in cruce Domini nostri, JESU CHRISTI. MARIE R.*

I would have brought your Lordship the packet myself; but he would deliver it himself; and requireth to have from me a speedy despatch for his departure into Spain: the which I would gladly your Lordship would determine.

And if the course which I have begun shall be thought good by Her Majesty, that I shall proceed [in]; there is no doubt but three commodities will follow, that is:

1. First, the practices of the enemies will be daily more and more discovered.

2. There will be credit gotten hither for a good sum of money.

3. Thirdly, the same money, as the time shall bring forth cause, shall be employed to their own detriment:

and what ships there shall be appointed (as *they* shall suppose to serve their turn), may do some notable exploit, to their great damage.

I most humbly pray your Lordship to carry this matter, so as FITZWILLIAMS may not have me in suspicion; and as speedy a determination for his despatch as conveniently may be.

And so [I] leave to trouble your good lordship any further.

The 7th of June, 1571.

Your good Lordship's most humbly to command,

JOHN HAWKINS.

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable Lord BURGHLEY, give this!

JOHN HAWKINS.

Letter of the 4th September, 1571, *announcing the success of the intrigue.*

[*State Papers. Domestic Series. ELIZABETH. Vol.* 81. *No.* 7.

MY VERY GOOD LORD.

IT MAY please your Honour to be advertised, that FITZWILLIAMS is returned from the Court of Spain; where his message was acceptably received, both by the King himself, the Duke of FERIA, and others of his Privy Council.

His despatch and answer were with great expedition; and with great countenance and favour of the King [*i.e.*, *PHILLIP II. jumped at the idea of HAWKINS's treachery*].

The *Articles* are sent to the Ambassador [*i.e.*, *of Spain in England, Don GUERAU D'ESPES*], with order also for money to be paid me by him, for the enterprise to proceed with all diligence.

Their pretence [*design*] is, that my power should join with the Duke of ALVA's power, which he doth secretly provide in Flanders, as well as with the power which cometh with the Duke of MEDINA out of Spain: and so, all together to invade this realm, and set up the Queen of Scots.

They have practised with us for the burning of Her Majesty's ships; therefore there would be some good care had of them: but not as it may appear that anything is discovered, as your Lordship's consideration can well provide.

The King hath sent a ruby of good price to the Queen of Scots, with letters also; which, in my judgement, were good to be delivered. The letters be of no importance: but his message by word is to comfort her, and say that "He hath now none other care, than to place her in her own."

It were good also that the Ambassador did make request unto your Lordship that FITZWILLIAMS may have access to the Queen of Scots, to render thanks for the delivery of our prisoners [*i.e., of such of HAWKINS's Third Voyage men, as had been sent to Spain by this time, July*, 1571, *and were not in the Inquisition, see pp.* 161-242, *and esp.* 205], which are now at liberty. It will be a very good colour [*pretence*] for your Lordship to confer with him [*i.e., FITZWILLIAM*] more largely.

I have sent your Lordship the [*or rather* a] copy of my *Pardon* from the King of Spain, in the very order and manner I have it. The Duke of MEDINA, and the Duke of ALVA hath, every of them, one of the same *Pardons* more amplified, to present to me; although this be large enough! with very great titles and honours from the King: from which, may GOD deliver me!

I send your Lordship also the copy of my letter from the Duke of FERIA, in the very manner as it was written; with his wife's and son's hands in the end.

Their practices be very mischievous; and they be never idle; but GOD, I hope, will confound them! and turn their devices upon their own necks!

I will put my business in some order, and give mine attendance upon Her Majesty, to do her that service that, by your Lordship, shall be thought most convenient in this case.

I am not tedious with your Lordship, because FITZWILLIAMS cometh himself; and I mind not to be long after him! and thus I trouble your good Lordship no further.

From Plymouth, the 4th day of September, 1571.

Your good Lordship's most faithfully to my power,

JOHN HAWKINS.

Addressed—

To the Right Honourable the LORD BURGHLEY, give this!

JASPER CAMPION.

The English trade to Scio.

1539-1570 A.D.

Jasper Campion.

The English trade to Scio. 1539-1570 A.D.

[Hakluyt's *Voyages*. 1599.]

A discourse of the trade to Scio, made in the year 1569, [*i.e.* 1570] by Jasper Campion unto Master Michael Lock and unto Master William Winter: as by his letters unto them both, shall appear. Written the 14th of February 1569 [*i.e.* 1570].

Worshipful Sir, etc.

S these days past, I spake unto you about the procurement of a safe-conduct from the great Turk for a trade to Scio: the way and manner how it may be obtained with great ease, shall plainly appear unto you in the lines following.

Sir, you shall understand that the island of Scio in time past hath been a Signiory or lordship of itself; and did belong to the Genoese. There were twenty-four of them that governed the island, who were called *Mauneses*. But in continuance of time the Turk waxed so strong and mighty: that they—considering they were not able to keep it, unless they should become his tributaries: because the island had no corn nor any kind of victuals to sustain them, but only that which must of necessity come out of the Turk's dominions; and the said island being enclosed with the Turks round about, and but twelve miles from the Turk's continent—therefore the said Genoese did compound and agree to be the Turk's tributaries, and to pay him 14,000,000 ducats yearly: always provided that they should keep their laws both spiritual and temporal, as they did when the island was in their own hands. Thus he granted them their privilege,

which they enjoyed for many years: so that all strangers, and also many Englishmen, did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety.

In this meantime, the Prince PEDRO DORIA, being a Genoese, became a captain to serve the Emperor with thirty or forty galleys against the Turk. And since that time, divers other captains belonging to Genoa, have been in the service of King PHILIP against the Turk. Moreover, whensoever the Turk made out an army, he perceived that no nation did him more hurt than those Genoese who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turk's siege of Malta [in 1551-53 A.D.]—before which place he lay a great while; with loss of his men, and also of his galleys—he found none so troublesome unto his force as one JUANETTE DORIA a Genoese, and divers others of the island of Scio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he took such displeasure against them of Scio, that he sent certain of his galleys to the island, to seize upon all the goods of the twenty-four *Mauneses;* and to turn them, with their wives and children, out of the island: but they would let none other depart, in order that the island should not be unpeopled. So that now the Turk hath sent one of his chief men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easy for us to obtain our safe-conduct than ever it was before.

For if the townsmen of Scio did know that we would trade thither, as we did in times past; they themselves, and also the Customer—for the Turk in all his dominions doth rent his customs—would be the chiefest procurer of this our safe-conduct for his own gain. Which is no small matter, for we must pay no less than ten in the hundred throughout the Turk's whole dominion: insomuch that if one of our ships should go thither, it would be for the Customer's profit 4,000 ducats at least; whereas if we should not trade thither, he would lose so much.

Also the burgesses and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the commonalty do get more by our countrymen than they do by any other nation whatsoever: for we do use to buy many of their silk quilts and of their *scamato* and dimity, that the poor people make in that town, more than any other nation; so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the country would be twice as willing. Wherefore they themselves would be a means unto

their governor by their petition, to bring this trade to pass: giving him to understand that of all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his country great good in consuming those commodities which his country people make.

Furthermore, it were far more requisite that we should carry our own commodities, than to suffer a stranger to carry them thither: for that we can afford them better cheap than a stranger can.

I write not this by hearsay of other men, but of mine own experience: for I have traded in the country above this thirty years; and have been married in the town of Scio full twenty-four years: so you may assure yourself that I will write nothing but truth.

Now I will declare unto you the wares and commodities that are in the countries near about Scio. There are very good galls, the best sort whereof are sold in England, five shillings [the hundredweight] dearer than any other country's galls. There are also cotton wool; tanned hides; hides in the hair; wax; camlets; mocayares; grogerams; silk of divers countries; Cordovan skins tanned white to be made black, of them in great quantity; and also coarse wool to make beds. The natural commodities growing in the island itself are raw silk and mastic.

Of these commodities there are laden yearly ten or twelve great ships of Genoa; besides five or six which belong to the town of Scio: which ships are freighted for Genoa, Messina and Ancona. And now that the *Mauneses* and the chief merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is clean lost: by reason whereof our merchandise must now of necessity be better cheap than it has been in times past.

But yet when all those ships did trade to the country, and also our ships; we never had less than three quintals of galls for a kersey; and in England we sold them for 35s. and 36s. the hundred: whereas now they are brought by the Venetians; they sell them unto us for £3 10s. and £4 the hundredweight.

Also we had three quintals of cotton wool for a kersey, and sold the wool for £2 10s. or £3 at the most: whereas now the Italians sell the same to us for £4 10s. and £5 the hundredweight.

In like manner, camlets: whereas we had three pieces, and of the best sort two pieces and a half, for a kersey; and could not sell them above 20s. and 22s. the piece, they sell them for 30s. and 35s. the piece.

Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two pieces and a half for a kersey: they sell them for 4s. and 4s. 6d. the yard.

Carpets, the smaller sort which serve for cupboards, we had three for a kersey. Whereas we, at the most, could not sell them but for 20s. the piece, they sell them for 35s. the piece.

And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell them to us for the third part more gains than we ourselves obtained in those days that we traded in those parts.

Likewise the barrels of oil that they bring from Candia, we never could sell them above four nobles [£2 13s. 4d.] the barrel: where they sell them always for 50s. and £3 the barrel.

What great pity it is, that we should lose so good a trade; and may have it in our own hands, and be better welcome to that country than the Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians come very little to Scio; for most of their trade is to Alexandria.

And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter for our kerseys; look into your father's books, and the books of Sir JOHN GRESHAM and his brethren; and you shall find what I have said to be true.

Also you know that we are forced to seek for oils out of Spain, and that for these many years they have been sold there for £25 and £30 the tun: whereas—if we can obtain the foresaid safe-conduct from the Turk—there are divers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tuns at £5 sterling the tun. The places are Modon and Coron, which are but twelve miles distant the one from the other; and do stand in our way to Scio, as you may plainly see by the card [*chart*]. Also there are places where we may utter [*dispose of*] our own commodities. And not only at these two places, but at many others; where we may have oils, and be better used than we are in Spain: where we pay very dear, and also are very evilly entreated many ways, as to you is not unknown. So that by these means, if the merchants will, we may be eased; and have such a trade as the like is not in Christendom.

Now as for getting the safe-conduct, if I were but able to

spend £100 by the year: I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtain the foresaid safe-conduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Scio did but think that we would trade thither again; they would, at their own cost, procure to us a safe-conduct without a penny of charges to the merchants. So that if the merchants will but bear my charges to solicit the cause, I will undertake it myself. Where I pray you speak to Master WINTER and the other merchants, that this may take effect; and let me have your answer herein as soon as conveniently you may: for the time of the year draweth nigh that this business must be done.

Thus I commit you to GOD; and rest always yours to command,

Yours as your servant,

JASPER CAMPION.

To the Worshipful Master WILLIAM WINTER.

IT may please your worship to understand, that as concerning the voyage to Scio, what great profit would be got both for merchants, and also for owners of ships—as it was well known in those days when the *Matthew Gonson*, the *Trinity Fitz Williams*, and the *Saviour* of Bristol with divers other ships which traded thither yearly; and made their voyage in ten or twelve months, and the longest in a year—Master FRANCIS LAMBERT, Master JOHN BROOKE and Master DRAVER can truly inform you hereof at large.

And by reason that we have not traded into those parts these many years; and that the Turk is grown mighty, whereby our ships do not trade as they were wont: I find that the Venetians do bring those commodities hither; and do sell them for double the value of that we ourselves were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the abovenamed men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as yourself: my request is that there may be a ship of convenient burthen prepared for this voyage; and then I will satisfy you at large what is to be done therein.

And because the Turk, as I said before, is waxen strong,

and hath put out the Christian rulers and placed his own subjects; we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were wont: therefore I dare undertake to obtain a safe-conduct, if my charges may be borne to go and come. Of the way how this may be done, Master LOCK can satisfy you at large.

Moreover, I can inform you more of the trade of that country than any other; for that I have been in those parts these thirty years, and have been married in the very town of Scio full four and twenty years. Furthermore, when one of our ships cometh thither, they bring at the least 6,000 or 8,000 kerseys; so that the customs thereof are very profitable for the prince, and the return of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we took the commodities which the poor of that town made in their houses. So that one of our ships brought the prince and country more gain than six ships of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the only cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they paid not their yearly tribute, they were put out by force.

Touching the ship that must go, she must observe this order. She must be a ship of countenance. She must not touch in any part of Spain, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she either lade in England, either goods of our own or else of strangers, and go to Genoa or Leghorn, where we may be well intreated. From thence she must make her money to buy wines by exchange to Candia, for there both customs and exchange are reasonable: and not do as the *Matthew Gonson* and other ships did in times past, who made sale of their wares at Messina for the lading of their wines; and paid for turning their white money [*silver*] into gold after four or five in the hundred, and also did hazard the loss of ship and goods by carrying away their money. Thus by the aforesaid course we shall trade quietly, and not be subject to these dangers.

Also [along the coast] from Leghorn to Castel del Mare which is but sixteen miles from Naples, and the ready way to Candia; you may lade hoops: which will cost $27\frac{1}{2}$ "carolins" of Naples the thousand, which is $2\frac{1}{2}$ ducats of Spain. And in Candia for every thousand of hoops you shall have a butt of Malmsey clear of all charges. Insomuch that a ship of

the burden [300 *tons*] of the *Matthew Gonson* will carry 400,000 hoops, so that 1,000 ducats will lade her. And this is an usual trade to Candia, as Master MICHAEL LOCK can testify.

Furthermore, it is not unknown to you, that the oils which we do spend [*consume*] in England for our cloth, are brought out of Spain; and that they are very dear; so that in England we cannot sell them under £28 and £30 the tun. I say we may have good oil, and better cheap in divers places within the Straits [of Gibraltar].

Therefore if you think good to take this voyage in hand; I will inform you more particularly, when you please.

In the meantime, I rest

Your Worship's to command.

Yours at your pleasure.

JASPER CAMPION.

A[NTHONY] M[UNDAY].

Captivity of John Fox of Woodbridge, Gunner of the Three Half Moons, *by the Turks; and of his wonderful escape from Alexandria.*

[HAKLUYT, *Voyages*, 1589.]

The worthy enterprise of JOHN FOX an Englishman, in delivering 266 Christians out of the captivity of the Turks at Alexandria, the 3rd of January, 1577.

MONG OUR merchants here in England, it is a common voyage to traffic into Spain. Whereunto a ship, being called the *Three Half Moons*, manned with eight and thirty men, and well fenced with munitions the better to encounter their enemies withal; having wind and tide, set forth from Portsmouth in the year 1563, and bent her journey towards Seville, a city in Spain: intending there to traffic with them.

And falling near the Straits of Gibraltar; they perceived themselves to be beset round about with eight galleys of the Turks, in such wise that there was no way for them to fly or escape away: but that either they must yield or else be sunk. Which the Owner perceiving, manfully encouraged his company; exhorting them "valiantly to show their manhood, showing them that GOD was their GOD and not their enemy's, requesting them also not to faint in seeing such a heap of their enemies ready to devour them:" putting them in mind also "that if it were GOD's

pleasure to give them into their enemies' hands; it was not they that ought to show one displeasant look or countenance there against: but to take it patiently and not to prescribe a day and time for their deliverance as the citizens of Bethuliah did [*JUDITH*, v. 24]; but to put themselves under His mercy." And again, "if it were His mind and goodwill to show His mighty power by them; if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands." Putting them likewise in mind of "the old and ancient worthiness of their countrymen: who in the hardest extremities have always most prevailed; and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath been almost impossible." "Such," quoth he, "hath been the valiantness of our countrymen; and such hath been the mighty power of our GOD."

With such other like encouragements, exhorting them to behave themselves manfully; they fell all on their knees making their prayers briefly unto GOD: who being all risen up again, perceived their enemies by their signs and defiances bent to the spoil, whose mercy was nothing else but cruelty. Whereupon every man took him to his weapon.

Then stood up one GROVE the Master, being a comely man, with his sword and target; holding them up in defiance against his enemies. So likewise stood up the Owner, the Master's Mate, Boatswain, Purser, and every man well appointed. Now likewise sounded up the drums, trumpets, and flutes, which would have encouraged any man; had he never so little heart or courage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge, JOHN FOX the Gunner, in the disposing of his pieces in order to the best effect: and sending his bullets towards the Turks; who likewise bestowed their pieces thrice as fast towards the Christians. But shortly they drew near, so that the bowmen fell to their charge in sending forth their arrows so thick amongst the galleys; and also in doubling their shot so sore upon the galleys, that there were twice so many of the Turks slain as the number of the Christians were in all. But the Turks discharged twice as fast against the Christians, and so long; that the ship was very sore stricken and bruised under water. Which the Turks perceiving, made the more haste to come aboard the ship; which ere they could do, many a Turk

bought it dearly with the loss of his life. Yet was all in vain, and boarded they were: where they found so hot a skirmish, that it had been better they had not meddled with the feast. For the Englishmen showed themselves men indeed, in working manfully with their brown bills and halberds; where the Owner, Master, Boatswain, and their company stood to it so lustily, that the Turks were half dismayed. But chiefly the Boatswain showed himself valiant above the rest, for he fared [*went*] among the Turks like a wood [*enraged*] lion; for there were none of them that either could or durst stand in his face: till at the last there came a shot from the Turks, which brake his whistle asunder and smote him on the breast, so that he fell down; bidding them farewell and to be of good comfort, encouraging them likewise to win praise by death rather than to live captives in misery and shame. Which they hearing, indeed intended to have done, as it appeared by their skirmish; but the press and store [*number*] of the Turks was so great, that they were not long able to endure it: but were so overpressed, that they could not wield their weapons. By reason whereof, they must needs be taken; which none of them intended to have been, but rather to have died: except only the Master's Mate, who shrank from the skirmish like a notable coward; esteeming neither the valour of his name, nor accounting the present example of his fellows, nor having respect to the miseries whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was; that the Turks were victors: whereof they had no great cause to rejoice or triumph.

Then would it have grieved any hard heart to see these infidels so violently intreating the Christians, not having any respect unto their manhood which they had tasted of; nor yet respecting their own state, how they might have met with such a booty [*prey*] as might have given them the overthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing else doth bridle their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs go to the galleys to serve in new offices. And they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled over their ears and torn from their backs: and they set to the oars.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now under their enemies' raging stripes. I think there is no man will judge their fare good, or that bodies unladen with stripes, and not pestered with too much heat and also with too much

cold: but I will go to my purpose, which is to show the end of those who, being in mere [*utter*] misery, continually do call on GOD with a steadfast hope that He will deliver them; and with a sure faith that He can do it.

Nigh to the city of Alexandria, being a haven town, and under the dominion of the Turks; there is a road, being made very fencible with strong walls: whereinto the Turks do customably bring their galleys on shore every year in the winter season, and there do trim them and lay them up against the spring time. In which road, there is a prison wherein the captives, and such prisoners as serve in the galleys are put for all that time, until the seas be calm and passable for the galleys: every prisoner being most grievously ladened with irons on their legs to their great pain, and sore disabling of them to taking any labour. Into which prison were these Christians put; and fast warded all the winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by means of friends, were redeemed. The rest abiding still by the misery; while that they were all, through reason of their ill-usage and worse fare, miserably starved: saving one JOHN FOX, who—as some men can abide harder and more misery than some others can; so can some likewise make more shift and work more devices to help their state and living than some others can do—being somewhat skilful in the craft of a barber, by reason thereof made great shift in helping his fare now and then with a good meal. Insomuch, till at the last, GOD sent him favour in the sight of the Keeper of the prison; so that he had leave to go in and out to the road at his pleasure, paying a certain stipend unto the Keeper, and wearing a lock about his leg. Which liberty likewise six more had upon like sufferance; who—by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would work the Turks any mischief—had liberty to go in and out of the said road in such manner as this JOHN FOX did; with irons on their legs, and to return again at night.

In the year of our Lord 1577, in the winter season, the galleys happily coming to their accustomed harbour, and being discharged of their masts, sails, and other such furniture as unto galleys do appertain; and all the masters and mariners of them being then nested in their own homes: there

remained in the prison of the said road two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had been taken by the Turks' force; and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which, there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named JOHN FOX of Woodbridge in Suffolk; the other WILLIAM WICKNEY of Portsmouth in the county of Southampton, and the third ROBERT MOORE of Harwich in the county of Essex. Which JOHN FOX having been thirteen or fourteen years under their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape; weighed with himself by what means it might be brought to pass; and continually pondering with himself; thereof took a great heart unto him, in hope that GOD would not be always scourging His children, and never ceasing to pray Him to further his pretended [*intended*] enterprise, if that it should redound to His glory.

Not far from the road, and somewhat from thence at one side of the city, there was a certain victualling house; which one PETER UNTICARO had hired, paying also a certain fee unto the Keeper of the road. This PETER UNTICARO was a Spaniard born, and a Christian, and had been prisoner above thirty years; and never practised any means to escape, but kept himself quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracy: until that now this JOHN FOX using much thither; they brake one to another their minds, concerning the restraint of their liberty and imprisonment. So that this JOHN FOX at length opening unto this UNTICARO the device which he would fain put in practice, made privy one more to this their intent. Which three debated of this matter at such times as they could compass to meet together; insomuch, that at seven weeks' end they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased GOD to further them thereto. Who making five more privy to this their device, whom they might safely trust; determined in three nights after to accomplish their deliberate purpose.

Whereupon the said JOHN FOX and PETER UNTICARO and the other six appointed to meet all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December [1576 A.D.]; where JOHN FOX certified the rest of the prisoners what their intent and device was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to pass: who thereunto persuaded them without much ado to further their device. Which the same

JOHN FOX seeing, delivered unto them a sort [*number*] of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the means of PETER UNTICARO: charging them that every man should be ready discharged of his irons by eight o'clock on the next day at night.

On the next day at night, this said JOHN FOX and his six other companions, being all come to the house of PETER UNTICARO; passed the time away in mirth for fear of suspect till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practice their device: sent PETER UNTICARO to the Master of the Road, in the name of one of the Masters of the city with whom this Keeper was acquainted and at whose request he also would come at the first; who desired him to take the pains to meet him there, promising him that he would bring him back again. The Keeper agreed to go with him, willing the warders not to bar the gate; saying, "that he would not stay long, but would come again with all speed."

In the mean season, the other seven had provided them of such weapons as they could get in that house: and JOHN FOX took him to an old rusty sword blade, without either hilt or pommel; which he made to serve his turn, in bending the hand end of the sword, instead of a pommel: and the others had got such spits and glaives as they found in the house.

The Keeper now being come into the house, and perceiving no light, nor hearing any noise; straightway suspected the matter: and returning backward, JOHN FOX, standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth unto him; who perceiving it to be JOHN FOX said, "O Fox! what have I deserved of thee, that thou shouldest seek my death?" "Thou villain," quoth Fox, "hast been a bloodsucker of many a Christian's blood; and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserved at my hands." Wherewith he lifted up his bright shining sword of ten years' rust, and stroke him so main a blow, as therewithal his head clave asunder; so that he fell stark dead to the ground. Whereupon PETER UNTICARO went in and certified the rest how the case stood with the Keeper; who came presently forth and some with their spits ran him through, and the other with their glaives hewed him asunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discern what he was.

Then marched they toward the road, whereinto they entered softly; where were six warders: one of whom asked, saying "Who was there?" Quoth Fox and his company "All friends." Which when they were all within proved contrary; for, quoth Fox, "My masters, here is not to every man, a man; wherefore look you play your parts." Who so behaved themselves indeed, that they had despatched these six quickly. Then JOHN FOX, intending not to be barred of his enterprise, and minding to work surely in that which he went about; barred the gate surely, and planted a cannon against it.

Then entered they into the Gaoler's lodge, where they found the keys of the fortress and prison by his bedside; and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in ducats; which this PETER UNTICARO and two more, opening, stuffed themselves so full as they could between their shirts and their skin: which JOHN FOX would not once touch, and said, "that it was his and their liberty whether he sought for, to the honour of his GOD; and not to make a mart of the wicked treasure of the infidels." Yet did these words sink nothing into their stomachs, "they did it for a good intent;" so did SAUL save the fattest oxen to offer unto the LORD, and they to serve their own turn. But neither did SAUL escape the wrath of GOD therefore; neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirst after. Such is GOD's justice. He that they put their trust in to deliver them from the tyrannous hands of their enemies; He, I say, could supply their want of necessaries.

Now these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of; thinking themselves sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemy, and coming unto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doors thereof, and called forth all the prisoners: whom he set, some to ramming up the gate, some to the dressing up of a certain galley, which was the best in all the road, and was called the *Captain of Alexandria;* whereinto some carried masts, sails, oars, and other such furniture as doth belong to a galley.

At the prison, were certain warders; whom JOHN FOX and his company slew. In the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turks which perceived them, and got themselves to

the top of the prison; unto whom JOHN FOX and his company were fain to come by ladders, where they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were slain, some wounded, and some but scared and not hurt. As JOHN FOX was thrice shot through his apparel and not hurt; PETER UNTICARO and the other two that had armed themselves with ducats were slain, as not able to wield themselves, being so pestered with the weight and uneasy carrying of the wicked and profane treasure; and also divers Christians were as well hurt about that skirmish as Turks slain.

Amongst the Turks, was one thrust through, who (let us not say it was ill fortune) fell off from the top of the prison wall, and made such a lowing; that the inhabitants thereabout, as here and there scattering stood a house or two, came and dawed [*aroused*] him: so that they understood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransoms: wherewith they raised both Alexandria, which lay on the west side of the road, and a castle at the city's end next to the road, and also another fortress which lay on the north side of the road: so that now they had no way to escape but one, which by man's reason (the two holds lying so upon the mouth of the road) might seem impossible to be a way for them. So was the Red Sea impossible for the Israelites to pass through, the hills and rocks lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible that the walls of Jericho should fall down; being neither undermined nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any man's wisdom, policy, or help set or put thereunto. Such impossibilities can our GOD make possible. He that held the lions' jaws from rending DANIEL asunder, yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: cannot He hold the roaring cannons of this hellish force? He that kept the fierce rage in the hot burning oven from the three children that praised His name: cannot He keep the fierce flaming blasts from among his elect?

Now is the road fraught [*filled*] with lusty soldiers, labourers, and mariners, who are fain to stand to their tackling; in setting to every man his hand: some to the carrying in of victuals, some of munition, some of oars, and some one thing and some another: but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the road. But to be short,

there was no time misspent, no man idle, nor any man's labour ill-bestowed or in vain. So that in short time this galley was ready trimmed up. Whereinto every man leaped with haste, hoisting up the sails lustily: yielding themselves to His mercy in whose hands are both wind and weather.

Now is this galley afloat, and out of the safety of the road. Now have the two castles full power upon the galley. Now is there no remedy but sink. How can it be avoided? The cannons let fly from both sides; and the galley is even in the midst, and between them both. What man can devise to save it? There is no man, but would think it must needs be sunk.

There was not one of them that feared the shots; which went thundering round about their ears: nor yet were once scarred or touched with five and forty shots which came from the castles. Here did GOD hold forth His buckler! He shieldeth now this galley, and hath tried their faith to the uttermost. Now cometh His special help, yea, even when man thinks them past all help, then cometh He himself down from heaven with His mighty power; then is His present remedy, most ready pressed. For they sail away, being not once touched with the glance of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish cannons' reach.

Then might they see them coming down by heaps to the waterside, in companies like unto swarms of bees, making show to come after them with galleys: in bustling themselves to dress up the galleys; which would be a swift piece of work for them to do, for that they had neither oars, masts, sails, cables, nor anything else ready in any galley. But yet they are carrying them into them, some into one galley and some into another; so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certain guide, it were a thing impossible to overtake them. Besides that, there was no man that would take charge of a galley; the weather was so rough, and there was such an amazedness amongst them. And verily I think their god was amazed thereat, it could not be but he must blush for shame; he can speak never a word for dulness, much less can he help them in such an extremity. Well, howsoever it is, he is very much to blame to suffer them to receive such a gibe. But howsoever their god behaved himself, our GOD showed Himself a GOD indeed, and that

He was the only living GOD; for the seas were swift under His faithful ones, which made the enemies aghast to behold them; a skilful pilot leads them, and their mariners bestir them lustily: but the Turks had neither mariners, pilots, nor any skilful Master that was in readiness at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemy's coast, JOHN FOX called to them all, willing them to be thankful unto Almighty GOD for their delivery; and most humbly to fall down upon their knees, beseeching Him to aid them unto their friends' land and not to bring them into another danger; since He had most mightily delivered them from so great a thraldom and bondage.

Then when every man had made his petition, they fell straightway to their labour with the oars, in helping one another when they were wearied; and with great labour striving to come to some Christian land, as near as they could guess by the stars. But the winds were so diverse, one while driving them this way, another while that way; that they were now in a new maze, thinking that GOD had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And forasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the galley, it might have been cause to them (if they had been the Israelites) to have murmured against their GOD; but they knew how that their GOD who had delivered them out of Egypt, was such a loving and merciful GOD, as that He would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom He had wrought so great a wonder. But what calamity soever they sustained, they knew that it was but for their further trial; and also (in putting them in mind of their farther misery) to cause them not to triumph and glory in themselves therefore. Having, I say, no victuals in the galley; it might seem one misery continually to fall upon another's neck. But to be brief, the famine grew to be so great, that in twenty-eight days wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons; to the astonishment of all the rest.

So it fell out, that upon the twenty-ninth day after they had set out from Alexandria, they fell on the island of Candia, and landed at Gallipoli: where they were much made of by the Abbot and monks there; who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sword wherewith JOHN FOX had killed the Keeper;

esteeming it as a most precious jewel, and hanged it up for a monument.

When they thought good, having leave to depart from thence; they sailed along the coast, till they arrived at Tarento: where they sold their galley; and divided it, every man having a part thereof.

The Turks receiving so shameful a foil at their hands, pursued the Christians; and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians [*in their galley*] had departed from thence [? *Gallipoli*] on the one day in the morning; and seven galleys of the Turks came thither that night: as it was certified by those who followed Fox and his company; fearing lest he should have been met with.

And then, they came afoot to Naples; where they departed asunder: every man taking him to his next way home.

From whence, JOHN FOX took his journey unto Rome, where he was well entertained of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deed unto the Pope: who rewarded him liberally, and gave him his letters to the King of Spain; where he was very well entertained of him there [*in Spain*], who for this his most worthy enterprise, gave him twenty pence a day.

From whence, being desirous to come into his own country; he came thither at such time as he conveniently could, which was in the year of our LORD GOD, 1579. Who being come into England, went into the Court; and showed all his travel unto the Council: who considering the state of this man, in that he had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thraldom and bondage, extended to him their liberality; to help maintain him now in age: to their right honour, and to the encouragement of all true-hearted Christians.

The copy of the certificate for JOHN FOX and his company, made by the Prior and the brethren of Gallipoli; where they first landed.

WE the Prior and Fathers of the Convent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the Order of Preachers; do testify that upon the 29th of January last past, 1577, *there came into the said city a certain galley*

from Alexandria, taken from the Turks, with two hundred and fifty and eight Christians: whereof was principal, master JOHN FOX, an Englishman, Gunner; and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great work, whereby so many Christians have recovered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, upon our earnest request to the same JOHN FOX, he hath left an old sword wherewith he slew the Keeper of the prison: which sword we do as a monument and memorial of so worthy a deed, hang up in the chief place of our Convent house. And for because all things aforesaid are such as we will testify to be true, as they are orderly passed and have therefore good credit, that so much as is above expressed is true; and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior and Fathers aforesaid have ratified and subscribed these presents. Given in Gallipoli the third of February, 1577.

I Friar VINCENT BARBA, Prior of the same place, confirm the premises, as they are above written.

I Friar ALBERT DAMARO of Gallipoli, Sub-Prior, confirm as much.

I Friar ANTHONY Cellarer of Gallipoli, confirm as aforesaid.

I Friar BARTHOLOMEW of Gallipoli, confirm as above said.

I Friar FRANCIS of Gallipoli, confirm as much.

The Bishop of ROME's letters in behalf of JOHN FOX.

BE it known unto all men to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof, JOHN FOX, Englishman, a Gunner, after he had served captive in the Turks' galleys by the space of fourteen years, at length, through GOD's help, taking good opportunity, the third of January last past, slew the Keeper of the prison (whom he first struck on the face); together with four and twenty other Turks, by the assistance of his fellow-prisoners: and with 266 Christians (of whose liberty he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arrived first at Gallipoli in Candia, and afterwards at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credit of which things, as also of others, the same JOHN FOX hath in public tables from Naples.

Upon Easter Eve [29th March, 1577], he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his journey to the Spanish Court; hoping

there to obtain some relief towards his living: wherefore the poor distressed man humbly beseecheth; and we, in his behalf, do in the bowels of CHRIST, *desire you that taking compassion of his former captivity and present penury, you do not only suffer him freely to pass through all your cities and towns, but also succour him with your charitable alms, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receive: which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pity, we commend unto you: At Rome, the 20th of April,* 1577.

THOMAS GROLOS, Englishman, Bishop of ASTRAPHAN.

RICHARD SILLEUN, Prior Angliæ.

ANDREAS LUDOVICUS. Registrar to our sovereign Lord the Pope: which for the greater credit of the premisses, have set my seal to these presents. At Rome, the day and year above written.

MAURICIUS CLEMENT. The Governor and Keeper of the English Hospital in the city.

The King of Spain's letters to the Lieutenant, for placing of JOHN FOX in the office of a Gunner, &c.

TO the illustrious Prince, VESPASIAN GONZAGA COLONNA, our Lieutenant and Captain General of our Realm of Valencia. Having consideration that JOHN FOX, Englishman, hath served us, and was one of the most principal which took away from the Turks a certain galley, which they have brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fifty and eight Christian captives: We license him to practise, and give him the office of a Gunner, and have ordained that he go to our said Realm, there to serve in the said office in the galleys, which by our commandment are lately made. And we do command that you cause to be paid to him eight ducats pay a month, for the time that he shall serve in the said galleys as a gunner, or till we can otherwise provide for him: the said eight ducats monthly of the money which is already of our provision present and to come, and to have regard of those which come with him.

From Escurial the tenth of August, 1577.

I THE KING

JUAN DEL GODA.

And under that a confirmation of the Council.

THOMAS STEVENS, an English Jesuit.

The first Englishman known to have reached the continent of India by the Cape of Good Hope.

[HAKLUYT, *Voyages*, 1589.]

A Letter written from Goa, the principal [Portuguese] city of all the East Indies, by one THOMAS STEVENS an Englishman; and sent to his father, Master THOMAS STEVENS. *Anno* 1579.

FTER MOST humble commendations: these shall be to crave your daily blessing, with like commendations unto my mother; and withal to certify you of my being, according to your will and my duty. I wrote unto you, taking my journey from Italy to Portugal, which letters I think are come to your hands: so that presuming thereupon, I think I have the less need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing; which nevertheless in one word I may conclude, if I do but name Obedience.

I came to Lisbon towards the end [i.e. *the 26th*] of March eight days before the departure of the ships, so late that if they had not been stayed about some weighty matters, they had been long gone before our coming: insomuch that there were others ordained to go in our places that the King's provision and ours also might not be in vain. Nevertheless our sudden coming took place, and the 4th of April five ships departed for Goa, wherein, besides shipmen and soldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas bear out better

than men, and no marvel, when that many women also pass [the seas] very well. The setting forth from the port, I need not to tell how solemn it is, with trumpets and shooting of ordnance. You may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the manner of war.

The tenth of the aforesaid month, we came to the sight of Porto Santo, near unto Madeira; where an English ship set upon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harm; but after that our ship had laid out her greatest ordnance, they straight departed as they came. The English ship was very fair and great, which I was sorry to see so ill occupied; for she went roving about, so that we saw her again at the Canary Isles: unto the which we came the 13th of the said month, and good leisure we had to wonder at the high mountain of the island of Teneriffe; for we wandered between that and the Great Canary four days by reason of contrary winds. And briefly, such evil weather we had until the 14th of May, that they despaired to compass the Cape of Good Hope that year.

Nevertheless taking our voyage between Guinea and the islands of Cape Verde, without seeing any land at all, we arrived at length unto the coast of Guinea, which the Portuguese so call chiefly that part of the burning zone which is from the sixth degree unto the equinoctial; in which parts they suffered so many inconveniences of heat and lack of winds, that they think themselves happy when they have passed it. For sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many days; sometimes she goeth but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast is not clear but thick and cloudy; full of thunder and lightning, and rain so unwholesome that if the water stand a little while, all is full of worms: and falling on the meat which is hung up, it maketh it straight full of worms. Along all that coast we oftentimes saw a thing swimming upon the water like a cock's comb (which they call a *Ship of Guinea*) [*a Nautilus*] but the colour much fairer; which comb standeth upon a thing almost like the swimmer [*bladder*] of a fish in colour and bigness, and beareth under the water, strings; which saveth it from turning over. This thing is so poisonous that a man cannot touch it without great peril. In this coast, that is to say, from the 6th degree

[North] unto the equinoctial, we spent no less than thirty days, partly with contrary winds, partly with calm.

The 30th of May we passed the equinoctial with contentation, directing our course, as well as we could to pass the promontory: but in all that gulf, and in all the way besides, we found so often calms that the expertest mariners wondered at it. And in places where are always wont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calms, which were very troublesome to those ships [*the caracks*]; which be the greatest of all other and cannot go without good winds. Insomuch that when it is a tempest almost intolerable for other ships, and maketh them main [*furl*] all their sails; these hoist up theirs, and sail excellently well; unless the waters be too furious, which seldom happeneth in our navigation. You shall understand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory; but according to the wind, they draw always as near south as they can put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35° 30′ [South] and then they take their course towards the east, and so compass the point. But the wind served us so, that at 30° [South] we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good Hope.

You know that it is hard to sail from East to West, because there is no fixed point in all the sky, whereby they may direct their course: wherefore I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowl that appeareth, or sign in the air or in the sea; which they have not written which have made the voyages heretofore. Wherefore partly by their own experience, and pondering withal what space the ship is able to make with such a wind and such a direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations they have, they guess whereabouts they be touching degrees of longitude. For of latitude they be always sure. But the greatest and best industry of all is to mark the variation of the needle or compass which in the meridian of the island of Saint Michael, which is one of the Azores, in the latitude of Lisbon, is just north, and thence swerveth towards the east so much that betwixt the meridian aforesaid and the point of Africa [i.e. *the Cape of Good Hope*] it carrieth three or four quarters of thirty-two [*or in modern language, the magnetic variation at the*

Cape was at that time from 30° *to* 45° *East.*] And again in the point of Africa, a little beyond the Point, that is called *Cape das Agulias* (*Agulhas*, in English *The Needles*) it returneth again unto the north; and that place passed, it swerveth again toward the west, as it did before proportionably.

As touching our first signs, the nearer we came to the people of Africa, the more strange kinds of fowls [*birds*] appeared: insomuch that when we came within no less than thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and six hundred miles as we thought from any island, as good as 3,000 fowls of sundry kinds followed our ship, some of them so great that their wings, being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spans, as the mariners said. A marvellous thing to see how GOD provided so that in so wide a sea these fowls are all fat and nothing wanteth them. The Portuguese have named them all according to some property which they have. Some they call *Rush-tails* because their tails be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush. Some *Forked-tails* because they be very broad and forked. Some *Velvet-sleeves*, because they have wings of the colour of velvet, and boweth [*bendeth*] them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is always welcome, for he appeareth nearest the Cape. I should never end if I should tell all particulars; but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you mark them, to give occasion to glorify GOD in his wonderful works and such variety in His creatures.

And to speak somewhat of fishes in all places of calm, especially in the burning zone [i.e. *the Tropics*]. Near the line (for without [the *Tropics*] we never saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call *Tuberones* [*the aboriginal West Indian name for sharks*]. They come to eat such things as from the ship fall into the sea, not refusing men themselves if they light upon them: and if they find any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These have waiting on them six or seven small fishes (which never depart) with gards blue and green round about their bellies, like comely serving men, and they go two or three before him and some on every side. Moreover they have other fishes which cleave always unto their body and seem to take such superfluities as grow about them, and

they are said to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The mariners in time past have eaten of them, but since they have seen them eat men, their stomachs abhor them: nevertheless they draw them up with great hooks, and kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they have made a great revenge.

There is another kind of fish [*the flying-fish*] as big almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These have two enemies: the one in the sea, and the other in the air. In the sea, the fish which is called the *Albacore* [*the Portuguese for* Dolphin] as big as a salmon followeth them with great swiftness to take them. This poor fish not being able to swim fast, for he hath no fins but swimmeth with the moving of his tail, shutting his wings, lifteth himself above the water, and flieth not very high. The *Albacore* seeing that, although he have no wings, yet giveth he a great leap out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him; or else he keepeth himself under the water, going that way as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the air or thinking himself out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albacore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy, the Sea Crow catcheth him before he falleth.

With these and like sights, but always making our supplications to GOD for good weather and salvation of the ship; we came at length unto the Point, so famous and feared of all men. But we found there no tempest, only great waves. Where our pilot was a little overseen. For whereas commonly all other never come within sight of land, but seeing signs ordinary and finding bottom, go their way sure and safe; he thinking himself to have wind at will, shot [*steered*] so nigh the land, that the wind turning to the south and the waves being exceeding great rolled us so near the land, that the ship stood in less than fourteen fathoms of water, no more than six miles from the Cape, which is called *Las Agulias*; and there we stood as utterly cast away. For under us were rocks of main stone so sharp and cutting that no anchor could hold the ship, the shore so evil that nothing could take land, and the land itself so full of tigers and people that are savage and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life or comfort but only in GOD and a good conscience.

Notwithstanding after we had lost anchors, hoisting up the sails for to get the ship a coast [*to the coast*] in some safer place or when it should please GOD: it pleased His mercy suddenly, where no man looked for help, to fill our sails with wind from the land, and so we escaped, thanks be to GOD! And the day following, being in the place where they are always wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many they took, that they served all the ship for that day and part of the next. And one of them pulled up a coral of great bigness and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the coral grows in the manner of stalks upon the rocks in the bottom, and waxes hard and red. The day of peril was the 29th of July, 1579.

And you shall understand that the Cape passed; there be two ways to India, one within the Isle of Saint Lawrence [*Madagascar*], which they take willingly, because they refresh themselves at Mozambique a fortnight or a month, not without great need; and thence in a month more, land at Goa. The other is without the Isle of St. Lawrence, which they take when they set forth so late and come so late to the Point that they have no time to take the foresaid Mozambique: and then they go heavily [*sadly*] because in this way they take no port, and by reason of the long navigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases; their gums wax great and swell, and they are fain to cut them away; their legs swell and all the body becometh sore and so benumbed that they cannot stir hand nor foot, and so they die for weakness, others fall into fluxes [*diarrhœa*] and agues and die thereby.

And this way it was our chance to make, yet though we had more than one hundred and fifty sick, there died not past twenty-seven; which loss they esteemed not much, in respect of other times [i.e. *voyages*]. Though some of ours [i.e. *the company of Jesuits of whom* STEVENS *was one*] were diseased in this sort; yet thanks be to GOD, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many. GOD send me my health so well in the land, if it may be, to His honour and service!

This way is full of privy rocks and quicksands, so that sometimes we durst not sail by night; but by the providence of GOD we saw nothing nor never found bottom until we came to the coast of India. When we had passed again the line

and were come again to the third degree [north] or somewhat more, we saw crabs swimming on the water as though they had been sodden [*boiled*], but this was no sign of land. After, about the eleventh degree, for the space of many days, more than ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship; whereof we caught so many, that for fifteen days we did eat nothing else, and they served our turn very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing else to eat, our navigation growing so long that it drew near to seven months, whereas commonly they go it in five; I mean when they sail the inner way [*through the Mozambique Channel*]. But these fishes were not sign of land, but rather of deep sea.

At length we took a couple of birds, which were a kind of hawks; whereof they joyed much, thinking that they had been of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterwards. And we that thought we had been near India, were in the same latitude near Socotra, an isle in the mouth of the Red Sea. But there GOD sent us great winds from the north-east or north-north-east, whereupon unwillingly they bare up toward the east, and thus we went ten days without seeing sign of land, whereby they perceived their error: for they had directed their course before, always north-east, coveting to multiply [*pass over*] degrees of latitude; but partly the difference [*variation*] of the needle, and most of all the running seas [*currents*], which at that time ran north-west, had drawn us to this new danger, had not GOD sent us this wind, which at once waxed larger [*veered*] and restored us to our right course.

These running seas [*currents*] be so perilous that they deceive the most part of the Governors [*pilots of the caracks*] and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience that they care not to seek out any means to know when they swerve, neither by the compass nor by any other trial.

The first sign of land was certain fowls [*birds*] which they knew to be of India. The second was boughs of palms and sedges. The third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coin of money, as broad and as round as a groat, wonderfully printed and stamped of Nature like unto some coin. And these two last

signs be so certain that the next day after, if the wind serve, they see land, which we did to our great joy; when all our water (for you know they make no beer in those parts) and victuals began to fail us. And to Goa we came the 24th of October 1570; there being received with surpassing great charity.

The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips and noses as the Moors and Kaffirs of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, go naked, save an apron of a span long and as much in breadth before them, and a lace two fingers broad before them, girded about with a string, and no more: and thus they think themselves as well as we with all our trimming.

Of the fruits and the trees that be here I cannot now speak, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I have not seen any tree here, whose like I have seen in Europe; the vine excepted, which nevertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugal. The drink of the country is good water, or wine of the palm tree or of a fruit called cocoas.

And this should suffice for this time. If GOD send me my health, I shall have opportunity to write to you once again. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leave, and thus I wish your most prosperous health.

From Goa, the tenth of November 1579.

Your loving Son,

THOMAS STEVENS.

The Third Hawkins Voyage.

[First Narrative by a Survivor.]

The relation of David Ingram, of Barking, in the county of Essex, sailor, being now about the age of forty years, of sundry things which he with others did see in travelling by land from the most northerly part of the Bay of Mexico (where he with many others were set on shore by Master Hawkins), through a great part of America, until they came within fifty leagues, or thereabouts, of Cape Breton: which he reported unto Sir Francis Walsingham Knight, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and to Sir George Peckham Knight, and divers others of good judgement and credit, in August and September, 1582.

[*Sloane MS.* 1447.
[Also printed, with variations, in *Hakluyt's Voyages*, *p.* 557. *Ed.* 1589.]

This narrative was omitted by Hakluyt, in his revised and enlarged edition of his *Voyages*, 3 vols., 1599–1600: fol.

Rev. S. Purchas in his *Pilgrimes*, iv. *p.* 179, *Ed.* 1625, states:

"As for David Ingram's perambulation to the north parts, Master Hakluyt, in his first edition, published the same; but it seemeth some incredibilities of his reports caused him to leave him out in the next impression; the reward of lying being, not to be believed in truths."—See R. Hakluyt's *Discourse concerning Western Planting*, *p.* 220. (Maine Historical Society, Second Series) Cambridge, Mass., 1877–78.

About the beginning of October, *anno Domini* 1568, David Ingram, with the rest of his company, being a hundred persons in all, were set on land by Master John Hawkins, about six leagues to the west of the river *Cumina* or *Rio de Mynas* which standeth about 140 leagues west-and-by-north from the Cape of Florida.

He hath travelled in those countries from beyond *Terra*

Florida, extending towards the Cape Breton, about eleven months in the whole; and about seven months thereof in those countries which lie towards the north of the river of May. In which time, as the said INGRAM thinketh, he travelled, by land, 2,000 miles, at the least: and never continued in any one place above three or four days; saving at the city of Balma, where he stayed six or seven days.

There are in those parts, saith he, very many kings, commonly within 100 or 120 miles one from another; who are at continual wars together.

The first king that they came before, dwelt in a country called Giricka; who caused them to be stripped naked, and, wondering greatly at the whiteness of their skins, let them depart without further harm.

The kings in those countries are clothed with painted or coloured garments; and thereby you may know them: and they wear great precious stones, which commonly are rubies, being six inches long and two inches broad; and if the same be taken from them, either by force or sleight, they are presently deprived of their kingdoms.

When they do mean to speak with any person publicly, they are always carried by men in a sumptuous chair of silver or crystal, garnished about with sundry sorts of precious stones.

And if you will speak with the king, at your first approaching near him, you must kneel down on both your knees; and then arise again and come somewhat nearer him, within your length, then kneel down again, as you did before. Then take of the earth or grass between both your hands, kissing the backside of each of them, and put the earth or grass on the crown of your head: and so, come and kiss the king's feet. Which circumstances being performed, you may then arise, and stand up, and talk with him.

The noblemen, and such as be in special favour with the King, do commonly wear feathers in the hair of their heads, for the most part, of a bird as big as a goose, of russet colour. And this is the best mark that this Examinate can give to know them by.

There is, in some of those countries, great abundance of pearls. For in every cottage, he found pearls; in some

houses a quart, in some a pottle [*half a gallon*], in some a peck, more or less: where he did see some as great as an acorn: and RICHARD BROWNE, one of his companions, found one of these great pearls in one of their canoes or boats, which pearl he gave to Monsieur CHAMPAIGNE, who took them aboard his ship, and brought them to Newhaven [*Hâvre*], in France.

All the people generally do wear Manylions or bracelets as big as a man's finger, upon each of their arms; and the like on the small of each of their legs: whereof commonly one is gold, and two are silver. And many of the women also do wear great plates of gold covering their bodies in manner of a pair of Currettes, and many bracelets and chains of great pearl.

The people commonly are of good favour, feature, and shape of body, of growth about five feet high, somewhat thick, with their faces and skins of colour like an olive; and towards the north, somewhat tawny, but some of them are painted with divers colours. They are very swift of foot. The hair of their head is shaven in sundry places, and the rest of their head is traced [*tattooed*].

In the north parts, they are clothed with beasts' skins, the hairy side being next to their body in winter.

They are naturally very courteous, if you do not abuse them either in their persons or goods, but use them courteously. The killing and taking of their beasts, birds, fishes, and fruits cannot offend them; except it be of their cattle, which they keep about their houses, as kine, guinea hens, and such like.

If any of them do hold up both their hands at length together, and kiss the backs of them on both sides: then you may undoubtedly trust them! for it is the greatest token of friendship that may be.

If any of them shall come unto you with a horse's tail in his hand, then you may assure yourself that he is a messenger from the king; and to him, you may safely commit your person, or go to the king or anywhere else, or by him send anything or message to the King. For these men are always either Ensign [*flag*]-bearers in the wars, or the king's messengers who will never betray you.

To allure the people to speech, if you will have any of the people to come aboard your ship, hang out some white cloth upon a staff, for it is a sign of amity.

If you will bargain for ware with them; leave the things that you will sell upon the ground, and go from it a pretty way off. Then will they come and take it, and set down such wares as they will give for it in the place: and if you think it not sufficient, leave the wares with signs that you like it not; and they will bring more until either they or you be satisfied, or will give no more. Otherwise you may hang your wares upon a long pole's end; and so put more or less on it, until they have agreed on the bargain.

When they go to the wars, they march in battle [ar]ray two and three in a rank.

Their trumpets, they do make of certain beasts' [*elephants*' in MS.] teeth. They have a kind of drum, which they make of beasts' skins. They have shields and targets of the skins of beasts, compassed with willow twigs; and being dried, they are strong and defensible.

Their weapons are darts headed with iron: the heads are two fingers broad, and half a foot long, which are fastened within a socket.

They have also short bows strung with the bark of trees, being half an inch broad, and the arrows are of bone, a yard long, nocked and headed with silver and bone. Their arrows are of small force within a stone's cast of them, and you may put them by, with a staff, a pretty way off.

They have short broad swords of black iron, of the length of a yard, or very near an ell; bearing edges thicker than backs of knives: somewhat like the foils in our fence schools.

They have crooked knives of iron, somewhat like a wood-knife or hanger; wherewith they will carve excellently both in wood and bone.

Their Ensign [*flag*] is a horse's tail, with glass or crystal in some of them; being dyed in sundry colours, as red, yellow, green, &c.

The people in those countries are professed enemies to the Cannibals or man eaters. The Cannibals do mostly inhabit between Norumbege and Barimuthe. They have teeth like dogs' teeth; and thereby you may know them.

In the wars they do pitch their camp as near as they may unto some wood of palm trees; which yieldeth them meat, drink, and a present [*instant*] remedy against poisoned arrows.

Their buildings are weak and of small force. Their houses are made round like dove houses, and they do dwell together in towns and villages.

And some of them have banquetting houses in the top of them, made like the lover [*louvre*] of a hall, built with pillars of massy silver and crystal, framed square; whereof many of them are as big as a boy's leg of fifteen years of age, and some less.

This Examinate did also see divers towns and villages, as

Gunda, a town, a flightshot in length.

Ochala, a great town, a mile long.

Balma, a rich city, a mile and a half long.

Bega, a country, and town of that name three quarters of a mile long. There is a good store of ox hides.

Saguanathe, a town almost a mile in length.

Barimuthe, a city a mile and a quarter long. Also there is a river and town of that name, but less than the first above named.

Guinda, a small town, and a river; both of that name. And this is the most northerly part that this Examinate was at.

[There are, besides those towns aforenamed, many other great towns, which this INGRAM passed by. They are commonly distant six or eight miles one from the other: which have divers small villages within eight or ten miles from them.]

They have in every house, scoops, buckets, and divers other vessels of massy silver; wherewith they do throw out water and dust, and otherwise do employ them to their necessary uses in their houses. All which this Examinate did see common and usual in some of these countries; especially where he found the great pearls.

There are also great rivers; at the heads of which, this Examinate and his companions did find sundry pieces of gold, some as big as a man's fist; the earth being washed away with the water.

And in other places, they did see great rocks of crystal, which grew at the heads of great and many rivers; being enough in quantity to load ships.

There are also in those parts, plenty of fine furs, unknown to this Examinate; dressed after the manner of the country.

The people there do burn a kind of white turf or earth, which they dig out of the marshes, a fathom deep in the ground. It burneth very clear, and smelleth as sweet as musk: and that earth is as wholesome, sweet, and comfortable to smell unto, as any pomander. They do make their fire of this earth for the sweetness thereof, having great abundance of wood.

When they want fire, they take briars, and rub them very hard between their fists; and so, with hard and often rubbing, they kindle and make fire.

They have great plenty of iron: and there is also great plenty of mineral salt in the marish ground which looketh reddish; a thing necessary for the great fishing near the sea shore, which are here abundant, and the fish large and huge.

The ground and country is most excellent, fertile, and pleasant; and especially towards the River of May. For the grass of the rest is not so green as it is in those parts; for the other is burnt away with the heat of the sun.

All the country is good and most delicate; having great plains as large and as fair, in many places, as may be seen: being as plain as a board.

And then great and huge woods, of sundry kinds of trees, as cedars, date trees, *lignum vitæ*, *bombassa*, plantains, and bushes, and also great abundance of those trees which carrieth a thick bark that biteth like pepper (of which kind, young Master WINTER brought home part from the Straits of Magellan), with the fruitful Palm tree, and a great plenty of other sweet trees to this Examinate unknown.

And after that, plains again; and, in other places, great closes of pasture environed with most delicate trees instead of hedges; they being, as it were, set by the hands of men.

Yet the best grass, for the most part, is in the high countries, somewhat far from the seaside and great rivers; by reason that the low grounds there be so rank, that the grass groweth faster than it can be eaten, whereby the old

grass lieth withered thick, and the new grass groweth through it; whereas in the upper parts, the grass and ground is most excellent and green; the ground not being overcharged with any old withered grass, as is afore specified.

The Palm tree aforesaid carrieth hairs on the leaves thereof, which reach to the ground: whereof the Indians do make ropes and cords for their cotton beds, and do use the same for many other purposes. The which tree, if you prick with your knife, about two feet from the root, it will yield a wine in colour like whey, but in taste strong and somewhat like Bastard; which is most excellent drink: but it will distemper both your head and your body, if you drink too much thereof; as our strong wines will do in these parts.

The branches of the top of the tree are most excellent meat, raw, after you have pared away the bark.

Also there is a red oil that cometh out of the root of this tree, which is most excellent against poisoned arrows and weapons: for by it they do recover themselves of their poisoned wounds.

There is a tree called the Plantain, with a fruit growing on it like a pudding, which is most excellent meat, raw.

They have also a red berry, like a peascod, called Guiathos, two or three inches long, which groweth on short bushes full of pricks like the sloe or thorn tree; and the fruit eateth like a green raisin, but sharper somewhat. They stamp this berry to make wine thereof; which they keep in vessels made of wood. They have also, in many places, vines which bear grapes as big as a man's thumb.

There is also a great plenty of herbs, and of all kind of flowers, as roses and gillyflowers, like ours in England: and many others which he knew not. Also they have a kind of grain [*maize*], the ear whereof is as big as the wrist of a man's arm. The grain is like a flat pease. It maketh very good bread, and white.

They do also make bread of the root called *cassava*: which they do dry, and beat it as small as they can, and temper it with water; and so bake it, in cakes, on a stone.

There is also a great plenty of buffes [*buffaloes*], bears, horses, kine, wolves, foxes, deer, goats, sheep, hares, and conies. Also other cattle like ours, and very many unlike

ours, to this Examinate unknown, the most part being wild: the hides and skins of them are good merchandise.

There is very great store of those buffes, which are beasts as big as two oxen, in length almost twenty feet, having long ears like a bloodhound, with long hairs about their ears, their horns be crooked like ram's horns, their eyes black, their hairs long, black, rough, and shagged as a goat. The hides of these beasts are sold very dear. This beast doth keep company only by couples, male and female; and doth always fight with others of the same kind, when they do meet.

There is also a great plenty of deer—red, white, and speckled. This last sort this Examinate knoweth not.

There is also a great plenty of another kind of sheep, which carry a kind of coarse wool. This sheep is very good meat; although the flesh be very red. They are exceeding fat; and of a nature loath to rise when they are lain, which is always from five o'clock at night until five o'clock in the morning, between which time you may easily kill them; but after they be on foot, they are very wild, and rest not in one place, living together in herds, in some 500, as it happeneth, more or less. And these red sheep are most[ly] about the Bay of Saint Mary, as this Examinate guesseth.

There are bears, both black and white. There are wolves. The foxes have their skins more grizzled than ours in England. There are conies, white, red, and grey, in every place in great plenty.

This Examinate did also see in those countries, a monstrous beast twice as big as a horse, and in proportion like to a horse, in mane, hoof, hair, and neighing; saving it was small towards the hinder parts like a greyhound. This beast hath two teeth or horns, of a foot long, growing straight forth by their nostrils. They are natural enemies of the horse.

He did also see in that country, both elephants and ounces. He did also see one another strange beast bigger than a bear. He had neither head nor neck. His eyes and mouth were in his breast. This beast is very ugly to behold, and cowardly of kind. It beareth a very fine skin like a rat, full of silver hairs.

There are in those countries, abundance of russet parrots, but very few green. There are also birds of all sorts, as we have; and many strange birds, to this Examinate unknown.

There is great plenty of guinea hens, which are tame birds, and proper to the inhabitants, as big as geese, very black of colour, having feathers like down. There is also a bird called a Flamingo, whose feathers are very red. It is bigger than a goose, billed like a showeler, and very good meat.

There is also another kind of fowl in that country which hunteth [*haunteth*] the rivers, near unto the islands. They are of the shape and bigness of a goose; but their wings are covered with small yellow feathers, and cannot fly. You may drive them before you like sheep. They are exceeding fat, and very delicate meat. They have white heads, and therefore the countrymen call them Penguins, which seemeth to be a Welsh name [!]. And they have also in use divers other Welsh words [!]. A matter worth the noting.

There is also a very strange bird, thrice as big as an eagle, very beautiful to behold. His feathers are more orient [*brilliant*] than a peacock's feathers; his eyes are glistering as a hawk's eyes, but as great as a man's eyes: his head and thigh as big as a man's head and thigh. It hath a crest and tuft of feathers of sundry colours, on the top of the head, like a lapwing, hanging backwards. His beak and talons are in proportion like eagles, but very huge and large.

Touching tempests and other strange monstrous things in those parts, this Examinate saith, that he hath seen it lightning and thunder, in summer season, by the space of four and twenty hours together. The cause whereof, he judgeth to be the heat of the climate.

He further saith, that there is a cloud, some time of the year, seen in the air, which commonly turneth to great tempests. And that, some times of the year, there are great winds in manner of whirlwinds.

Touching their religion, he saith, that they honour for their god, a devil [? *medicine man*], which they call *Collochio*: which speaketh unto them, sometimes in the likeness of a black dog, and sometimes in the likeness of a black calf.

And some do honour the sun, the moon, and the stars.

He saith, that the people in those countries are allowed many wives: some five, some ten, and a king sometimes a hundred. And that adultery is very severely punished in the following manner.

The woman taken in adultery must, with her own hands, cut the throat of the adulterer; and the next of his kindred doth likewise cut the throat of the adulteress.

Being asked, in what manner, they take their executions? he saith, "That they are brought to execution by certain magistrates; who deliver unto the woman, the knife wherewith she cutteth the throat of the adulterer. Then appeareth their *Collochio*, or devil, in the likeness aforesaid, and speaketh unto them: and to that devil, the parties brought to execution do great reverence, and with many prayers to it, they do take their death."

He saith that, "Such persons as are put to death in such sort, have not any of their friends buried with them. But such as die naturally, have always buried with them, quick [*alive*], one of their dearest friends to keep them company, and to provide necessaries and victuals for them: who do willingly consent thereto, being thereto persuaded by their *Collochio*, or devil, whom they do worship."

He saith further, that "He and his two fellows (namely, RICHARD BROWNE and RICHARD TWIDE) went unto a poor man's house, and there they did see the said *Collochio*, or devil, with very great eyes like a black calf. Upon which sight, BROWNE said 'There is the devil!' and thereupon he blessed himself, *In the name of the Father! and of the Son! and of the Holy GHOST!* and TWIDE said very vehemently, 'I defy thee, and all thy works!' and presently the *Collochio* shrank away in a stealing manner, forth of the doors, and was seen no more unto them."

Also they passed over many great rivers in those countries in canoes or boats; some four, some six, some eight, some ten miles over: whereof one was so large that they could scarce cross the same in four and twenty hours.

Also he saith that "in the same country, the people have instruments of music made of a piece of a cane, almost a foot long, being open at both ends: which, sitting down, they smite upon their thighs and one of their hands, making a pleasant kind of sound."

And they do use another kind of instrument like a taber [? *banjo*], covered with a white skin somewhat like parchment.

This Examinate can very well describe their gestures, dancing, and songs.

After long travail, the aforesaid DAVID INGRAM with his two companions BROWNE and TWIDE, came to the head of a river called [Garinda,] which is 60 leagues west from Cape Breton; where they understood by the people of that country, of the arrival of a Christian. Whereupon, they made their repair to the seaside; and there found a French Captain, named Monsieur CHAMPAIGNE: who took them unto his ship, and brought them unto Newhaven [*Hâvre*] in France; and from thence, they were transported unto England, *Anno Domini* 1569.

This Monsieur CHAMPAIGNE, with divers of his company, was brought unto the village of Baryniathe, about twenty miles up into the country, by the said Examinate and his two companions: by whose means, he had a trade with the people, of divers sorts of fine furs; and of great red leaves of trees almost a yard long and about a foot broad, which he thinketh are good for dyeing.

Also the said Monsieur CHAMPAIGNE had there, for exchange of trifling wares, a good quantity of rude and unwrought silver.

He further saith that, "divers of the said Frenchmen, which were in the said ship, called the *Gargarine*, are yet living in [Honfleur], upon the coast of France, as he thinketh: for he did speak with some of them within these three years" [*i.e., since* 1579].

About a fortnight after their coming from Newhaven into England [in 1569], this said Examinate and his two companions came to Master JOHN HAWKINS; who had set them on shore upon the Bay of Mexico: and unto each of them, he gave a reward.

RICHARD BROWNE, his companion, was slain, about five years past [1577], in the *Elizabeth* of Master COCKENS, of London. And RICHARD TWIDE, his other companion died at Ratcliffe, in JOHN SHERWOOD's house there, about three years past [1579].

Guando is a word of salutation, as among us "Good morrow!" "Good even!" "GOD save you!" and the like.

Garicona.	A King.
Garaccona.	A Lord.
Tona.	Bread.
Kerucca.	The Sun.

Also the said Examinate travelling towards the North, found the Main sea [*Gulf of St. Lawrence*] upon the north side of America; and travelled in sight thereof the space of two whole days: where the people signified unto him, that they had seen ships on the coast, and did draw upon the ground the shape and figure of ships and of their sails and flags.

Which thing specially proveth the passage of the North-west; and is agreeable to the experience of VASQUEZ DE CORONADO, who found a ship of China or Cataia upon the North-west of America.

Also the said Examinate saith that "there is an island called Corrasau [*Curaçao*]; and there are in it, 5,000 or 6,000 Indians, at the least: and all those are governed by only one Negro, who is but a slave to a Spaniard.

And, moreover [*in other places*], the Spaniards will send but one of their slaves with 100 or 200 of the Indians, when they go to gather gold in the rivers descending from the mountains. And when they shall be absent by the space of 20 or 30 days' [journey] at the least; every one of the Indians will nevertheless obey all the slave's commandments, with as great reverence as if he were their natural King; although there be never a Christian near them, by the space of 100 or 200 miles: which argueth the great obedience of those people, and how easily they may be governed when they be once conquered.

In considering the exaggerations which led HAKLUYT to reject INGRAM'S narrative as a tissue of falsehoods; we must think of the enormous stretch of country over which he claimed to have travelled, from Tampico to Cape Breton, and of the diversities of climate, tribes, customs, animals, birds, &c., which he has here jumbled up in a general way.

It is also to be noted that this examination was taken some twelve years after he had returned home; in the year before that in which MILES PHILLIPS got back home, see *p.* 218. Had it been taken earlier, his memory might have been somewhat fresher.

Second Narrative, by another Survivor.

[Hakluyt. *Voyages.* 1589.]

A Discourse written by one Miles Phillips, Englishman, one of the company put ashore in the West Indies by Master John Hawkins in the year 1568. Containing many special things of that country and of the Spanish Government [there]: but specially of their cruelties used to our Englishmen; and among the rest, to himself, for the space of fifteen or sixteen years together, until, by good and happy means, he was delivered from their bloody hands, and returned to his own country, *anno* 1582[3].

THE FIRST CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewn the day and time of our departure from the coast of England; with the number and names of the ships, their Captains and Masters: and of our traffic and dealing upon the coast of Africa.

Upon Monday, being the 2nd of October, 1567, the weather being reasonably fair, our General [*Admiral*], Master John Hawkins, having commanded all his Captains and Masters to be in a readiness to make sail with him; he himself being embarked in the *Jesus* (whereof was appointed for Master, Robert Barret), hoisted sail, and

departed from Plymouth, upon his intended voyage for the parts of Africa and America; being accompanied with five other sail of ships, as, namely,

The *Minion*, wherein went for Captain, Master JOHN HAMPTON; and JOHN GARRET, Master.

The *William and John*, wherein was Captain, THOMAS BOLTON; and JAMES RAUNCE, Master.

The *Judith*, in whom was [subsequently] Captain, Master FRANCIS DRAKE, now Knight: and

The *Angel*, whose Master, as also the Captain and Master of the *Swallow*, I now remember not.

And so sailing in company together, upon our voyage until the 6th of the same month, an extreme storm then took us near unto Cape Finisterre; which [en]dured for the space of four days, and so separated our ships that we had lost one another: and the General, finding the *Jesus* to be in an ill case, was in mind to give over the voyage, and to return home. Howbeit the 11th of the same month, the seas waxing calm, and the wind coming fair; he altered his purpose, and held on the former intended voyage.

And so coming to the island of Gomera, being one of the Islands of the Canaries, where, according to an order before appointed, we met with all our ships which were before dispersed; we then took in fresh water, and departed from thence the 4th of November; and holding on our course, upon the 18th of the same month, we came to an anchor upon the coast of Africa, at Cape de Verde, in twelve fathom[s of] water.

Here our General landed certain of our men, to the number of 160 or thereabouts; seeking to take some Negroes. And they going up into the country, for the space of six miles, were encountered with a great number of Negroes; who with their envenomed arrows did hurt a great number of our men, so that they were enforced to retire to the ships: in which conflict, they recovered but a few Negroes. Of these our men, which were hurt with their envenomed arrows, there died to the number of seven or eight, in a very strange manner, with their mouths shut; so that we were forced to put sticks and other things into their mouths, to keep them open.

So afterwards passing the time upon the coast of Guinea until the 12th of January [1568], we obtained by that time, the number of 150 Negroes.

And being ready to depart from the sea coast, there was a Negro sent as an ambassador to our General, from a king [*chief*] of the Negroes (which was oppressed with other kings, his bordering neighbours) desiring our General to grant him succour and aid against those his enemies; which our General granted unto, and went himself in person aland, with the number of 200 of our men or thereabouts: and the said King, which had requested our aid, did join his force with ours, so that thereby our General assaulted and set fire upon a town of the said king his enemy, in which there was, at the least, the number of 8,000 or 10,000 Negroes. They perceiving that they were not able to make any resistance, sought by flight to save themselves; in which their flight, there were taken prisoners to the number of 800 or 900, which our General ought to have had for his share: howbeit the Negro king which requested our aid, falsifying his word and promise, secretly, in the night, conveyed himself away, with as many prisoners as he had in his custody.

But our General, notwithstanding, finding himself to have now very near the number of 500 Negroes, thought it best, without longer abode, to depart with them and such merchandise as he had, from the coast of Africa towards the West Indies: and therefore commanded, with all diligence, to take in fresh water and fuel; and so with speed to prepare to depart.

Howbeit before we departed from thence,* in a storm that we had, we lost one of our ships, namely, the *William and John*: of which ship and her people, we heard no tidings during the time of our voyage.

* This is wrong. The *William and John* was separated from the rest of the English fleet in the storm in the Gulf of Mexico, on the 15th August, 1568; and reached the coast of Ireland in February, 1569.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewed the day and time of our departure from the coast of Africa, with the day and time of our arrival in the West Indies. Also of our trade and traffic there. And also of the great cruelty that the Spaniards used towards us, by the Viceroy his direction and appointment; falsifying his faith and promise given, and seeking to have entrapped us.

ALL things being made in a readiness, at our General his appointment, upon the 3rd day of February, 1568, we departed from the coast of Africa; having the weather somewhat tempestuous, which made our passage the more hard.

So sailing for the space of forty-five days, upon the 27th of March, 1568, we came in sight of an island called Dominica, upon the coast of America, in the West Indies, situated in 14° [N.] Lat. and 222° of Longitude.

From thence, our General coasted from place to place, ever making traffic with the Spaniards and Indians, as he might: which was somewhat hardly obtained; for that the King [of Spain] had straightly charged all his Governors in those parts not to trade with any.

Yet, notwithstanding, during the months of April and May, our General had reasonable trade and traffic, and courteous entertainment in sundry places, as at Margarita, Curaçao, and elsewhere, till we came to Cape de la Vela, and Rio de la Hacha a place from whence all the pearls do come. The Governor there, would not, by any means, permit us to have any trade or traffic, nor yet suffer us to take in fresh water. By means whereof, our General, for the avoiding of famine and thirst, about the beginning of June, was enforced to land 200 of our men; and so, by main force and strength, to obtain that which, by no fair means, he could procure: and so recovering [*capturing*] the town, with the loss of two of our men, there was a secret and peaceable trade admitted, and the Spaniards came in by night, and bought of our Negroes, to the number of 200 and upwards, and of our other merchandise also.

From thence, we departed for Cartagena, where the

Governor was so straight, that we could not obtain any traffic there; and so, for that our trade was near[ly] finished, our General thought it best to depart from thence, the rather for the avoiding of certain dangerous storms called the *Huricanos* [hurricanes], which are accustomed to begin there about that time of the year.

So, the 24th of July, 1568, we departed from hence, directing our course North; leaving the island of Cuba upon our right hand, to the eastward of us.

And so sailing towards Florida, upon the 12th of August, an extreme tempest arose, which [en]dured for the space of eight days; in which our ships were most dangerously tossed and beaten hither and thither, so that we were in continual fear to be drowned, by reason of the shallowness of the coast; and in the end, we were constrained to flee for succour to the port of San Juan de Ulua, or Vera Cruz, situated in 19° N. Lat. and 279° Long., which is the port that serveth for the city of Mexico.

In our seeking to recover this port, our General met, by the way, three small ships, that carried passengers; which he took with him: and so, the 16th of September, 1568, we entered the said port of San Juan de Ulua.

The Spaniards there, supposing us to have been the King of Spain's Fleet, the Chief Officers of the country thereabouts came presently [*at once*] aboard our General; where perceiving themselves to have made an unwise adventure, they were in great fear to have been taken and stayed: howbeit our General did use them all very courteously. In the said port, there were twelve ships, which, by report, had in them in treasure, to the value of £200,000 [=*nearly two millions sterling now*]; all which being in our General his power, and at his devotion, he did freely set at liberty; as also the passengers which he had before stayed, not taking from any of them all, the value of one groat. Only he stayed two men of credit and account; the one named Don LORENZO DE ALVA, and the other Don PEDRO DE REVERA.

And presently our General sent to the Viceroy, to Mexico (which was threescore leagues off) certifying him of our arrival there, by force of weather; desiring that "Forasmuch as our Queen his Sovereign, was the King of Spain his loving Sister and Friend; that therefore he would, considering our

necessities and wants, furnish us with victuals for our Navy; and quietly to suffer us to repair and amend our ships. And furthermore, that at the arrival of the Spanish Fleet, which was there daily expected and looked for, to the end that there might no quarrel arise between them and our General and his company, for the breach of amity; he humbly requested of his Excellency that there might, in this behalf, some special order be taken." This message was sent away the 16th of September, 1568; it being the very day of our arrival there.

The next morning, being the 17th of the same month, we descried thirteen Sail of great ships; and after that our General understood that it was the King of Spain's Fleet, then looked for; he presently sent to advertise the General thereof, of our being in the said port, and giving him further to understand that "Before he should enter there into that harbour, it was requisite that there should pass between the two Generals, some orders and conditions to be observed on either part, for the better contriving of peace between them, and theirs," according to our General's request made unto the Viceroy.

And, at that instant, our General was in a great perplexity of mind, considering with himself that if he should keep out that Fleet from entering into the port (a thing which he was very well able to do, with the help of GOD), then should that Fleet be in danger of present shipwreck and loss of all their substance which amounted to the value of 1,800,000 crowns [=£540,000=*about four millions and a half pounds sterling now*]. Again he saw, that if he suffered them to enter, he was assured that they would practise, by all manner of means, to betray him and his: and, on the other side, the haven was so little, that the other Fleet entering, the ships were to ride one hard aboard of another.

Also he saw that if their Fleet should perish by his keeping of them out (as of necessity they must, if he should have done so); then stood he in great fear of the Queen our Sovereign's displeasure, in so weighty a cause. Therefore did he choose the least evil; which was, to suffer them to enter under assurance: and so, to stand upon his guard, and to

defend himself and his, from their treasons, which we were well assured, they would practise.

So the messenger being returned from Don MARTIN DE HENRIQUEZ, the new Viceroy (who came in the same Fleet, and had sufficient authority to command in all cases, both by sea and land, in this Province of Mexico or New Spain) did certify our General that "For the better maintenance of amity between the King of Spain and our Sovereign; all our requests should be both favourably granted, and faithfully performed:" signifying further that "He heard and understood of the honest and friendly dealing of our General towards the King of Spain's subjects in all places where he had been, as also in the said port."

So that, to be brief, our requests were articled, and set down in writing.

The first was that *we might have victuals for our money, and license to sell as much wares as might suffice to furnish our wants.*

The second, that *we might be suffered peaceably to repair our ships.*

The third, that *the Island might be in our possession during the time of our abode there.*

In which Island, our General, for the better safety of him and his, had already planted and placed certain ordnance; which were eleven pieces of brass. Therefore he required that *the same might so continue; and that no Spaniard should come to land in the said Island, having or wearing any kind of weapon about him.*

The fourth, and last, that *for the better and more sure performance and maintenance of peace, and of all the conditions; there might ten gentlemen of credit be delivered of either part, as hostages.*

These conditions were concluded and agreed upon in writing by the Viceroy, signed with his hand, and sealed with his seal: and ten hostages, upon either part, were received.

And further it was concluded that *the two Generals should meet; and give faith, each to the other, for the performance of the promises.*

All which being done, the same was proclaimed by the

sound of a trumpet; and commandment was given that none, of either part, should violate or break the peace upon pain of death.

Thus, at the end of three days, all was concluded; and the Fleet entered the port [*the 20th*]; the ships saluting one another, as the manner of the sea doth require.

The morrow after, being Tuesday [*the 21st*], we laboured on all sides, in placing the English ships by themselves, and the Spanish ships by themselves: the Captains and inferior persons, of either part, offering and shewing great courtesy one to another; and promising great amity on all sides. Howbeit, as the sequel shewed, the Spaniards meant nothing less upon their parts. For the Viceroy and Governor thereabouts, had secretly assembled at land, to the number of 1,000 chosen and well appointed men: meaning the next Thursday, being the 23rd of September, at dinner time [10 *a.m.*], to assault us, and set upon us, at all sides.

But before I go any further, I think it not amiss, briefly to describe the manner of the Island, as it then was; and the force and strength that it is now of. For the Spaniards, since the time of our General's being there, for the better fortifying of the same place, have built a fair Castle and Bulwark very well fortified, upon the same Island.

This port was then, at our being there, a little island of stones, not past three feet above water in the highest place; and not past a bow shot over, any way, at the most; and it standeth from the mainland, two bow shots or more. And there is not in all this coast, any other place for ships safely to arrive at. Also the north winds in this coast are of great violence and force; and unless the ships be safely moored in, with their anchors fastened in this Island; there is no remedy but present destruction and shipwreck.

All this our General wisely foreseeing, did provide that he should have the said Island in his custody; or else the Spaniards might, at their pleasure, have cut our cables; and so, with the first north wind that blew, we had had our passport, for our ships had gone ashore.

But to return to the matter.

The time approaching that their treason must be put in

practice, the same Thursday morning, some appearance thereof began to shew itself; as shifting of weapons from ship to ship, and planting and bending their ordnance against our men that warded upon the land, with great repair of people: which apparent shews of breach of the Viceroy's faith, caused our General to send one to the Viceroy, to inquire of him, "What was meant thereby?" who presently sent and gave order that the ordnance aforesaid, and other things of suspicion should be removed: returning answer to our General, "On the faith of a Viceroy! that he would be our defence and safety from all villainous treachery." This was upon Thursday, in the morning.

Our General not being therewith satisfied, seeing they had secretly conveyed a great number of men aboard a great Hulk or ship of theirs, of 900 tons; which ship rode hard by the *Minion*: he sent again to the Viceroy, ROBERT BARRET, the Master of the *Jesus*, a man that could speak the Spanish tongue very well; and required that "those men might be unshipped again, which were in that great Hulk."

The Viceroy (then perceiving that their treason was thoroughly espied, stayed our Master) sounded the trumpet, and gave order that his people should, upon all sides, charge upon our men which warded the shore, and elsewhere: which struck such a maze and sudden fear among us, that many gave place, and sought to recover our ships for the safety of themselves.

The Spaniards, which secretly were hid in ambush at land, were quickly conveyed over to the Island, in their long boats; and so coming to the Island, they slew all our men they could meet with, without any mercy.

The *Minion*, which had somewhat before prepared herself to avoid the danger, hauled away, and abode the first brunt of the 300 men that were in the great Hulk. Then they sought to board the *Jesus*, where was a cruel fight, and many of our men slain: but yet our men defended themselves, and kept them out.

So the *Jesus* also got loose, and joining with the *Minion*, the fight waxed hot on all sides: but they having won and got our ordnance on shore, did greatly annoy us. In this fight, there were two great ships of the Spaniards sunk, and one burnt. So that with their ships, they were not able to harm

us; but from the shore, they beat us cruelly with our own ordnance, in such sort, that the *Jesus* was very sore spoiled.

Suddenly, the Spaniards having fired two great ships of their own; they came directly against us, which bred in our men a marvellous fear.

Howbeit, the *Minion*, which had made her sails ready, shifted for herself (without the consent of the General, Captain, or Master); so that very hardly our General could be received into the *Minion*. The most of our men that were in the *Jesus* shifted for themselves, and followed the *Minion* in the boat; and those which that small boat was not able to receive, were most cruelly slain by the Spaniards.

Of our ships, none escaped saving the *Minion* and the *Judith*; and all such of our men as were not in them were enforced to abide the tyrannous cruelty of the Spaniards.

For it is a certain truth, that when they had taken certain of our men ashore; they took them and hung them up by the arms upon high posts, until the blood burst out at their fingers' ends. Of which men so used, there is one COPSTOWE, and certain others, yet alive: who, through the merciful providence of the Almighty, have long since [*i.e.*, *before* 1583] arrived here at home in England; carrying still about with them (and shall, to their graves), the marks and tokens of those their inhuman, and more than barbarous, cruel dealing.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewed how that, after we were escaped from the Spaniards, we were like to perish with famine at the sea; and how, our General, for the avoiding thereof, was constrained to put half of his men on land. And what miseries we, after that, sustained among the savage people; and how we fell again into the hands of the Spaniards.

FTER that, the Viceroy, Don MARTIN DE HENRIQUEZ, had thus, contrary to his faith and promise, most cruelly dealt with our General, Master HAWKINS, at San Juan de Ulua, where most of his men were, by the Spaniards, slain and drowned; and all his ships sunk and

burnt, saving the *Minion* and the *Judith* (which was a small bark of 50 tons, wherein was then Captain, Master FRANCIS DRAKE aforesaid): the same night, the said bark lost us.

We were in great necessity, and enforced to remove with the *Minion* two bow shots from the Spanish Fleet; where we anchored all that night.

And the next morning [*24th September*], we weighed anchor, and recovered an island, a mile from the Spaniards, where a storm took us with a North wind; in which, we were greatly distressed, having but two cables and two anchors left. For in the conflict before, we had lost three cables and two anchors.

The morrow after [*25th September*], the storm being ceased, and the weather fair; we weighed and set sail: being many [*i.e., between* 200 *and* 300] men in number, and but small store of victuals to suffice us for any long time: by means whereof we were in despair and fear, that we should perish through famine, so that some were in mind to yield themselves to the mercy of the Spaniards, others to the savages or infidels.

And wandering thus certain days in these unknown seas, hunger constrained us to eat hides, cats and dogs, mice, rats, parrots, and monkeys: to be short, our hunger was so great, that we thought it savoury and sweet, whatever we could get to eat.

And on [Friday] the 8th of October, we came to land again in the bottom [*or rather on the West side*] of the Bay of Mexico; where we hoped to have found some inhabitants, that we might have had some relief of victuals, and a place where to repair our ship, which was so greatly bruised that we were scarce able, with our weary arms, to keep forth the water.

Being thus oppressed with famine on the one side, and danger of drowning on the other; not knowing where to find relief, we began to be in wonderful despair, and we were of many minds. Amongst whom there were a great many that did desire our General to set them on land; making their choice rather to submit themselves to the mercy of the savages or infidels than longer to hazard themselves at sea: where they very well saw that, if they should all remain together, if they perished not by drowning, yet hunger would enforce them, in the end, to eat one another. To which re-

quest, our General did very willingly agree, considering with himself that it was necessary for him to lessen his number; both for the safety of himself and the rest.

And thereupon being resolved to set half his people on shore, that he had then left alive; it was a world to see how suddenly men's minds were altered! for they which, a little before, desired to be set on land, were now of another mind, and requested rather to stay.

By means whereof, our General was enforced, for the more contentation of all men's minds, and to take away all occasions of offence, to take this order.

> First, he made choice of such persons of service and account as were needful to stay: and that being done, of those who were willing to go, he appointed such as he thought might best be spared.

And presently appointed that, by the boat, they should set on shore: our General promising us, that, the next year, he would either come himself, or else send to fetch us home.

Here again, it would have caused any stony heart to have relented, to have heard the pitiful moan that many did make; and how loath they were to depart. The weather was then somewhat stormy and tempestuous, and therefore we were to pass with great danger [*i.e., to the shore*]; yet notwithstanding there was no remedy but we that were appointed to go away, must of necessity do so.

Howbeit, those that went in the first boat were safely set ashore; but of them which went in the second boat, of which number I myself was one, the seas wrought so high that we could not attain to the shore: and therefore we were constrained through the cruel dealing of JOHN HAMPTON, Captain of the *Minion*, JOHN SANDERS, Boatswain of the *Jesus*, and THOMAS Pollard, his [*i.e., the Boatswain's*] Mate, to leap out of the boat into the main sea, having more than a mile to the shore; and so to shift for ourselves, and either to sink or swim. And of those that were so, as it were, thrown out, and compelled to leap into the sea; there were two drowned, which were of Captain BLAND's [*a Frenchman of Rochelle, see p. 222*] men.

In the evening of the same day, it being Friday, the 8th of

October, 1568, when we were all come ashore, we found fresh water; whereof some of our men drank so much that they had almost cast themselves away, for we could scarce get life in them for the space of two or three hours after. Some others were so cruelly swollen, what with the drinking in of the salt water, and what with the eating of the fruit, which is called *Capule* [*? chestnut*], having a stone in it much like an almond, which we found on land, they were all in very ill case. So that we were, in a manner, all of us, both feeble, faint, and weak.

The next morning, it being Saturday, the 9th of October, we thought it best to travel along by the sea coast, to seek out some place of habitation; whether they were Christians or savages, we were indifferent, so that we might have wherewithal to sustain our hungry bodies.

So departing from a hill, where we had rested all night, not having any dry thread about us: for those that were not wet, being thrown into the sea, were thoroughly wet with rain; for it rained cruelly all the night.

As we went from the hill, and were come into the plain, we were greatly troubled to pass, for the grass and woods [*shrubs*] that grew there higher than any man. On the left hand, we had the sea; and upon the right hand, great woods: so that, of necessity, we must needs pass, on our way westward, through those marshes.

Going thus, suddenly, we were assaulted by the Indians, a warlike kind of people; which are, in a manner as cannibals, although they do not feed upon men's flesh as cannibals do. These people are called Chichemics; and they use to wear their hair long, even down to their knees. They do also colour their faces green, yellow, red, and blue; which maketh them to seem very ugly and terrible to behold.

These people do keep wars against the Spaniards; of whom they have been oftentimes very cruelly handled: for with the Spaniards there is no mercy.

They perceiving us, at our first coming on land, supposed us to have been their enemies, the bordering Spaniards; and having by their forerunners [*scouts*] described what number we were, and how feeble and weak, without armour or weapon, they suddenly (according to their accustomed manner when they encounter with any people in warlike sort) raised a

terrible and huge cry; and so came running fiercely upon us, shooting off their arrows as thick as hail.

Unto whose mercy, we were constrained to yield, not having amongst us any kind of armour: nor yet weapon, saving one caliver and two old rusty swords, whereby to make any resistance or to save ourselves. Which when they perceived that we sought not any other than favour and mercy at their hands, and that we are not their enemies, the Spaniards; they had compassion on us, and came and caused us all to sit down. And when they had a while surveyed and taken a perfect view of us, they came to all such as had any coloured clothes amongst us, and those they did strip stark naked, and took their clothes away with them; but they that were apparelled in black, they did not meddle withal. And so went their ways, and left us, without doing us any further hurt: only in the first brunt, they killed eight of our men.

At their departure, they perceiving in what weak case we were, pointed us with their hands, which way we should go to come to a town of the Spaniards (which, as we afterwards perceived, was not past ten leagues from thence), using these words, *Tampeco! tampeco Christiano! tampeco Christiano!* which is as much, we think, as to say in English, "Go that way, and you shall find the Christians!" [*or rather the name of the town of Tampico, at the mouth of the Panuco*]. The weapons that they use, are no others but bows and arrows; and their aim is so good that they very seldom miss to hit anything that they shoot at.

Shortly after they had left us stript, as aforesaid, we thought it best to divide ourselves into two companies. So being separated, half of us went under the leading of ANTHONY GODDARD (who is a man alive, and dwelleth at this instant [? 1583] in the town of Plymouth), whom before, we chose to be Captain over us all: and those which went under his leading (of which number, I, MILES PHILLIPS, was one), travelled westward, that way which the Indians with their hands had before pointed us to go.

The other half went, under the leading of one JOHN HOOPER, whom they did choose for their Captain (and with the company that went with him, DAVID INGRAM [*pp.* 161-72] was one), and they took their way, and travelled northward. And shortly

after, within the space of two days, they were again encountered with the savage people: and their Captain, HOOPER, and two more of their company were slain.

Then, again, they divided themselves. Some held on their way still northward: and some others, knowing that we were gone westward, sought to meet with us again; as, in truth, there was about the number of 25 or 26 of them that met with us, in the space of four days again.

Then we began to reckon among ourselves, how many we were that were set on shore: and we found the number to be 114: whereof two were drowned in the sea, and eight slain at the first encounter; so that there remained 104, of which 25 went westward with us, and 52 to the north with HOOPER and INGRAM. And as INGRAM since hath often told me, there were not past three of their company slain; and there were but 26 of them that came again to us. So that of the company that went northward, there is yet lacking, and not certainly heard of, to the number of 23 men: and verily I do think that there are some of them yet alive, and married in the said country, at Sibola; as hereafter I purpose, GOD willing! to discourse of more particularly, with the reason and causes that make me so to think of them, that were [thus] lacking; which were DAVID INGRAM, TWIDE, BROWNE [*pp.* 163, 170, 171], and sundry others whose names we could not remember.

Being thus met again together, we travelled on still westward, sometimes through such thick woods that we were enforced to break away, with cudgels, the brambles and bushes from tearing our naked bodies. Some other times, we should travel through the plains in such high grass that we could scarce see one another. And as we passed, in some places, we should have of our men slain, and fall down suddenly; being stricken by the Indians, which stood behind trees and bushes, in secret places, and so killed our men as they went by: for we went scatteringly in seeking of fruits to relieve ourselves.

We were also, oftentimes, greatly annoyed with a kind of fly, which in the Indian tongue is called, *Tequani*, and the Spaniards call them *Musketas* [mosquitos].

There are also in the said country, a number of other flies, but none so noisome as these *tequanies* be. You shall hardly

see them, they be so small; for they are scarce so big as a gnat. They will suck one's blood marvellously, and if you kill them, while they are sucking, they are so venomous that the place will swell extremely even as one that is stung with a wasp or bee: but if you let them suck their fill and to go away of themselves, they do you no other hurt, but leave behind them a red spot somewhat bigger than a flea-biting. At first, we were terribly troubled with these kind of flies, not knowing their qualities: and resistance we could make none against them, being naked. As for cold, we feared not any: the country there is always so warm.

And as we travelled thus, for the space of ten or twelve days, our Captain did oftentimes cause certain to go to the tops of high trees to see if they could descry any town or place of inhabitants; but they could not perceive any.

Using often the same order, to climb up into high trees, at the length, they descried a great river that fell from the north-west into the main sea; and presently after, we heard a harquebuss shot off, which did greatly encourage us, for thereby we knew that we were near to some Christians, and did therefore hope shortly to find some succour and comfort.

Within the space of one hour after, as we travelled, we heard a cock crow: which was no small joy to us.

So we came to the north side of the river of Panuco; where the Spaniards have certain *Salinas* [salt pans]: at which place it was that the harquebuss was shot off, which we heard before. To which place, we went not directly; but missing thereof, we left it about a bow shot upon our left hand.

Of this river, we drank very greedily; for we had not met with any water, in six days before.

As we were here by the river, resting ourselves, and longing to come to the place where the cock did crow, and where the harquebuss was shot off; we perceived many Spaniards upon the other side of the river, riding up and down on horseback: and they perceiving us, did suppose that we had been of the Indians their bordering enemies, the Chichemics. The river was not past half a bow shot over.

Presently, one of the Spaniards took an Indian boat called a canoe; and so came over, being rowed by two Indians. Having taken the view of us, he did presently row over back

again to the Spaniards: who, without any delay, made out about the number of twenty horsemen; and embarking themselves in the canoes, they led their horses by the reins, swimming over after them. Being come over, to that side of the river where we were, they saddled their horses; and being mounted upon them, with their lances charged, they came very fiercely, running at us.

Our Captain, ANTHONY GODDARD, seeing them come in that order, did persuade us to submit and yield ourselves unto them; for being naked as we were at this time, without weapon, we could not make any resistance: whose bidding we obeyed.

Upon the yielding of ourselves, they perceived us to be Christians; and did call for more canoes, and carried us over by four and four in a boat. Being come on the other side, they understanding by our Captain how long we had been without meat [*food*], imparted [*divided*] between two and two, a loaf of bread made of that country wheat which the Spaniards call Maize, of the bigness of one of our halfpenny loaves; which bread is named in the Indian tongue, *Clashacally*.

This bread was very sweet and pleasant unto us, for we had not eaten anything in a long time before: and what is it that hunger doth not make to have a savoury and a delicate taste?

Having thus imparted the bread amongst us, those which were men, they sent afore to the town; having also many Indians, inhabitants of that place, to guard them. They which were young, as boys; and some such also as were feeble, they took up upon their horses behind them. And so carried us to the town, where they dwelt; which was very near a mile distant from the place where we came over.

This town [*Tampico*] is well situated, and well replenished with all kinds of fruits, as oranges, lemons, pomegranates, apricots, and peaches, and sundry others: and is inhabited with a number of tame Indians or Mexicans; and had in it, also, at that time, about the number of 200 Spaniards (men, women, and children), besides Negroes.

Of the *Salinas*, which lie upon the west side of the river, more than a mile distant from thence, they make a great profit. For salt is an excellent good merchandise there. The Indians do buy much thereof, and carry it up into the country

and there sell it to their own people, doubling the price. Also much of the salt made in this place is transported from thence, by sea, to sundry other places, as Cuba, San Juan de Ulua, and the other ports of Tamiago and Tamachos, which are two barred havens [*i.e., with sand bars*] west-and-by-south, above threescore leagues, from San Juan de Ulua.

When we were all come to the town, the Governor there, shewed himself very severe unto us, and threatened to hang us all. Then he demanded, "What money we had?" which, in truth, was very little: for the Indians, which we first withal, had, in a manner, taken all from us; and of that which was left, the Spaniards, which brought us over, took away a good part also. Howbeit, the Governor here had from ANTHONY GODDARD a chain of gold, which was given unto him at Cartagena, by the Governor there; and from others, he had some small store of money. So that we accounted that among us all, he had the number of 500 pesos [*i.e., pesos of silver, at* 6*s.* 8d. *each*=£135 *or about* £1,000 *now*], besides the chain of gold.

Having thus satisfied himself, when he had taken all that we had; he caused us to be put into a little house, much like a hogsty, where we were almost smothered [*suffocated*].

Before we were thus shut up in that little cot, they gave us some of the country wheat, called Maize, sodden: which they feed their hogs withal. But many of our men, which had been hurt by the Indians at our first coming on land, whose wounds were very sore and grievous, desired to have the help of their Surgeons to cure their wounds. The Governor, and most of them, all answered that "We should have none other surgeon but the hangman; which should sufficiently heal us of all our griefs."

Thus reviling us, and calling us, "English dogs!" and "Lutheran heretics!" we remained the space of three days in this miserable state, not knowing what should become of us; waiting every hour to be bereaved of our lives.

THE FOURTH CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewed how we were used in Panuco [Tampico], *and in what fear of death we were there. And how we were carried to Mexico, to the Viceroy; and of our imprisonment there, and at Tescuco, with the courtesies and cruelties we received during that time. And how, in the end, we were, by Proclamation, given as slaves to sundry Spanish gentlemen.*

UPON the fourth day, after our coming thither, and there remaining in a perplexity; looking every hour when we should suffer death: there came a great number of Indians and Spaniards, weaponed, to fetch us out of the house. And amongst them, we espied one that brought a great many of new halters: at the sight whereof, we were greatly amazed, and made no other account but that we should presently have suffered death; and so, crying and calling on GOD for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, we prepared ourselves, making us ready to die.

Yet in the end, as the sequel shewed, their meaning was not so. For when we were come out of the house, with those halters, they bound our arms behind us; and so coupling us two and two together, they commanded us to march on through the town, and so alongst the country, from place to place, towards the city of Mexico; which is distant from Panuco [*Tampico*], west-and-by-south, the space of threescore leagues: having only but two Spaniards to conduct us; they being accompanied with a great number of Indians, warding, on each side, with bows and arrows, lest we should escape from them.

Travelling in this order, upon the second day, at night, we came unto a town, which the Indians call Nohele; and the Spaniards call it Santa Maria. In which town there is a House of White Friars; which did very courteously use us, and gave us hot meat, as mutton and broth; and garments also to cover ourselves withal, made of white bayes [*baize*]. We fed very greedily of the meat, and of the Indian fruit called *Nochole*, which fruit is long and small, much like in fashion to a little cucumber. Our greedy feeding caused us to fall sick of hot burning agues.

And here at this place, one THOMAS BAKER, one of our

men, died of a hurt; for had been before shot in the throat with an arrow, at the first encounter.

The next morrow, about ten of the clock, we departed from thence, bound two and two together, and guarded as before. And so travelled on our way towards Mexico, till we came to a town within forty leagues of Mexico, named Mesticlan; where is a House of Black Friars; and in this town there are about the number of 300 Spaniards, men, women, and children. The Friars sent us meat from the House ready dressed; and the Friars, and men and women, used us very courteously, and gave us some shirts and other such things as we lacked. Here our men were very sick of their agues; and with the eating of another fruit, called in the Indian tongue, *Guiaccos*.

The next morning, we departed from thence, with our two Spaniards, and Indian guard; as aforesaid.

Of these two Spaniards, the one was an aged man, who, all the way, did very courteously intreat us; and would carefully go before to provide for us, both meat and things necessary, to the uttermost of his power. The other was a young man, who, all the way, travelled with us, and never departed from us; who was a very cruel caitiff. He carried a javelin in his hand; and sometimes when our men, with very feebleness and faintness, were not able to go as fast as he required them; he would take his javelin in both his hands, and strike them with the same, between the neck and the shoulders so violently that he would strike them down: then would he cry, and say, *Marches! marches Ingleses perros! Lutheranos; enemicos de DIOS!* which is as much as to say in English, "March! march on, you English dogs! Lutherans! enemies to GOD!"

And the next day, we came to a town called Pachuca. There are two places of that name, as this Town of Pachuca; and the Mines of Pachuca, which are mines of silver, and are about six leagues distant from this town of Pachuca, towards the north-west.

Here, at this town, the good old man, our governor, suffered us to stay two days and two nights, having compassion of our sick and weak men: full sore against the mind of the young man, his companion.

From thence, we took our journey, and travelled four or

five days, by little villages, and *Stantias* which are farms or dairy houses of the Spaniards; and ever, as we had need, the good old man would still provide us sufficiently of meats, fruits, and water to sustain us.

At the end of which five days, we came to a town within five leagues of Mexico, which is called Quoglilican; where we also stayed one whole day and two nights; where was a fair House of Grey Friars; howbeit, we saw none of them.

Here we were told by the Spaniards in the town, that we were not past fifteen English miles from thence to Mexico; whereof we were all very joyful and glad: hoping that when we came thither, we should either be relieved and set free out of bonds, or else be quickly despatched out of our lives. For seeing ourselves thus carried bound from place to place, although some used us courteously, yet could we never joy nor be merry till we might perceive ourselves set free from that bondage, either by death or otherwise.

The next morning, we departed from thence, on our journey towards Mexico; and so travelled till we came within two leagues of it. Where there was built by the Spaniards a very fair church, called Our Lady's Church; in which, there is an image of Our Lady, of silver and gilt, being as high and as large as a tall woman [*cf. pp.* 275, 276]; in which church, and before this image, there are as many lamps of silver, as there be days in the year; which, upon high days, are all lighted.

Whensoever any Spaniards pass by this church, although they be on horseback, they will alight, and come into the church, and kneel before this image, and pray to our Lady to defend them from all evil; so that, whether he be horseman or footman, he will not pass by, but first go into the church, and pray as aforesaid; which if they do not, they think and believe that they shall never prosper. Which image, they call in the Spanish tongue, *Nostra Señora de Guadaloupe.*

At this place, there are certain cold baths, which arise, springing up as though the water did seethe. The water whereof is somewhat brackish in taste, but very good for any that have any sore or wound, to wash themselves therewith. For, as they say, it healeth many. And every year, upon our Lady's Day [25*th March*], the people use to repair thither to offer, and to pray in the church before the image: and they say that Our Lady of Guadaloupe doth work a number of miracles.

About this church, there is not any town inhabited by Spaniards; but certain Indians do dwell there, in houses of their own country building.

Here, we were met with a great number of Spaniards on horseback, which came from Mexico to see us, both gentlemen and men of occupations; and they came as people to see a wonder. We were still called upon to march on; and so, about four of the clock in the afternoon of the said day, we entered into the city of Mexico, by the way or street called *La Calla de Santa Catharina*: and we stayed not in any place till we came to the House or Palace of the Viceroy, Don MARTIN DE HENRIQUEZ, which standeth in the midst of the city, hard by the Market Place, called *La Plaza dell Marquess*.

We had not stayed any long time at the place, but there was brought us by the Spaniards from the Market Place, great store of meat sufficient to have satisfied five times so many as we were. Some also gave us hats, and some gave us money. In which place, we stayed for the space of two hours.

From thence, we were conveyed by water in large canoes to an Hospital, where certain of our men were lodged, which were taken before, at the fight at San Juan de Ulua. We should have gone to Our Lady's Hospital; but there were there also so many of our men taken before, at that fight, that there was no room for us.

After our coming thither, many of the company that came with me from Panuco died, within the space of fourteen days. Soon after which time, we were taken forth from that place, and put together in Our Lady's Hospital; in which place, we were courteously used, and oftentimes visited by virtuous gentlemen and gentlewomen of the city: who brought us divers things to comfort us withal, as succets [*sweetmeats*], marmalades, and such other things; and would also many times give us many things, and that very liberally.

In which Hospital, we remained for the space of six months [*i.e., till the summer of* 1569], until we were all whole and sound of body.

Then we were appointed by the Viceroy, to be carried

into the town of Tescuco, which is distant from Mexico, south-west, eight leagues. In which town, there are certain Houses of Correction and Punishment, for ill people called *Obraches*; like to Bridewell here in London. Into which place, divers Indians were sold for slaves; some for ten years and some for twelve.

It was no small grief unto us, when we understood that we should be carried thither; and to be used as slaves. We had rather be put to death.

Howbeit, there was no remedy; but we were carried to the Prison of Tescuco: where we were not put to any labour; but were very straitly kept, and almost famished. Yet, by the good providence of our merciful GOD, we happened to meet there, with one ROBERT SWEETING, who was the son of an English man born of a Spanish woman [*p.* 199; *and also p.* 267]. This man could speak very good English; and by his means we were helped very much with victuals from the Indians, as muttons [*sheep*], hens, and bread. And if we had not been so relieved, we had surely perished. And yet all the provision that we had got that way was but slender. And continuing thus straitly kept in prison there, for the space of two months; at the length, we agreed amongst ourselves to break forth of prison, come of it what would. For we were minded rather to suffer death, than to live longer in that miserable state.

And so having escaped out of prison, we knew not what way to fly for the safety of ourselves. The night was dark, and it rained terribly: and not having any guide, we went we knew not whither.

In the morning, at the appearing of the day, we perceived ourselves to be come hard to the city of Mexico; which is 24 English miles from Tescuco.

The day being come, we were espied by the Spaniards, and pursued, and taken: and brought before the Viceroy and the Head Justices, who threatened to hang us, for breaking the King's prison.

Yet, in the end, they sent us into a garden belonging to the Viceroy; and coming thither, we found there our English gentlemen, which were delivered as hostages when our

General was betrayed at San Juan de Ulua, as is aforesaid. And with them also, we found ROBERT BARRET, the Master of the *Jesus*.

In which place, we remained, labouring and doing such things as we were commanded, for the space of four months; having but two sheep a day allowed to suffice us all, being very nearly a hundred men; and for bread, we had every man, two loaves a day, of the quantity of one halfpenny loaf.

At the end of which four months [*i.e.*, *about January* 1570], they having removed our Gentlemen hostages and the Master of the *Jesus* to a prison in the Viceroy's own house [*pp.* 197-8]; he did cause it to be proclaimed, that what gentleman Spaniard soever was willing, or would have any Englishman to serve him, and be bound to keep him forthcoming, to appear before the Justices within one month after notice given; that he should repair to the said garden, and there take his choice: which Proclamation was no sooner made, but the gentlemen came and repaired to the garden amain: so that happy was he, that could soonest get one of us.

THE FIFTH CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewed in what good sort, and how wealthily we lived with our Masters, until the coming of the Inquisition: when again our sorrows began afresh. Of our imprisonment in the Holy House; and of the severe judgement and sentences given against us, and with what rigour and cruelty the same were executed.

THE Gentlemen that took us for their servants or slaves, did new apparel us throughout; with whom we abode, doing such service as they appointed us unto, which was, for the most part, to attend upon them at the table, and to be as their chamberlains [*serving men or valets*], and to wait upon them, when they went abroad, which they greatly accounted of. For in that country, no Spaniard will serve another; but they are, all of them,

attended and served by Indians, weekly; and by Negroes, which be their slaves, during their life.

In this sort, we remained, and served in the said city of Mexico and thereabouts, for the space of a year and somewhat longer [? *till Spring of* 1571].

Afterwards, many of us were appointed by our masters, to go to sundry of their mines, where they had to do; and to be as Overseers of the Negroes and Indians that laboured there.

In which mines, many of us did profit and gain greatly. For first we were allowed 300 pesos a man for a year; which is £60 sterling [=*about* £500 *now*]. And besides that, the Indians and Negroes which wrought under our charge, upon our well using and intreating of them, would, at times (as upon Saturdays when they had left work) labour for us; and blow as much silver as should be worth unto us 3 marks or thereabouts (every mark being worth 6½ pesos of their money; which 19½ pesos is worth £4 10s. of our money).

Sundry weeks, we did gain so much by this means, besides our wages, that many of us became very rich, and were worth 3,000 or 4,000 pesos [=£600 *or* £800=*about* £5,000 *or* £7,000 *now*]. For we lived and gained thus much in those mines, in some three or four years.

As concerning those gentlemen which were delivered as hostages, and that were kept in prison in the Viceroy's house; after that we [*about January*, 1570] were gone from out of the garden to serve gentlemen as aforesaid; they remained prisoners in the said house, for the space of four months after their coming thither.

At the end whereof [*in the Summer of* 1570], the Fleet being ready to depart from San Juan de Ulua, to go for Spain; the said Gentlemen * were sent away into Spain, with the Fleet [*p.* 198]. Where, as I have heard it credibly reported, many of them died with the cruel handling of the Spaniards in the Inquisition House; as those which have been delivered home after they had suffered the persecution of that House, can more perfectly declare.

ROBERT BARRET,* the Master of the *Jesus*, was also sent

* Note the murderous injustice of this. Neither the hostages, nor BARRET had fought a stroke at San Juan de Ulua.

away, with the Fleet into Spain [*p.* 196; *see also p.* 225]; where, afterwards, he suffered persecution in the Inquisition; and at the last was condemned to be burnt, and with him three or four more of our men. Of whom, one was named GREGORY, and another JOHN BROWNE, whom I knew; for they were of our General's Musicians: but the names of the rest that suffered with them, I know not.

Now after that six years were fully expired since our first coming into the Indies, in which time, we had been imprisoned and served in the said country, as is before truly declared: in the year of our Lord 1574 [? 1573–4], the Inquisition began to be established in the Indies; very much against the minds of many of the Spaniards themselves. For never until this time, since their first conquering and planting in the Indies, were they subject to that bloody and cruel Inquisition.

The Chief Inquisitor was named Don PEDRO MOYA DE CONTRERES, and JUAN DE BOUILLA, his companion; and JUAN SANCHIS, the Fiscal; and PEDRO DE LA RIOS, the Secretary.

They being come and settled, and placed in a very fair house near unto the White Friars (considering with themselves that they must make an entrance and beginning of that their most detestable Inquisition here in Mexico, to the terror of the whole country) thought it best to call us that were Englishmen first in question: and so much the rather, for that they had perfect knowledge and intelligence that many of us were become very rich, as hath been already declared; and therefore we were a very good booty and prey to the Inquisitors. So that now again began our sorrows afresh.

For we were sent for, and sought out in all places of the country; and Proclamation made, upon pain of losing of goods and excommunication, that no man should hide or keep secret any Englishman or any part of his goods.

By means whereof, we were all soon apprehended in all places, and all our goods seized and taken for the Inquisitors' use. And so, from all parts of the country, we were conveyed and sent as prisoners to the city of Mexico; and there committed to prison, in sundry dark dungeons, where we could not see but by candle light; and were never past two together in one place: so that we saw not one another, neither could one of us tell what was become of another.

Thus we remained close imprisoned for the space of a year and a half, and others for some less time: for they came to prison ever as they were apprehended.

During which time of our imprisonment, at the first beginning, we were often called before the Inquisitors alone; and there severely examined of our faith; and commanded to say the *Pater noster*, the *Ave* MARIA, and the *Creed* in Latin: which, GOD knoweth! a great number of us could not say otherwise than in the English tongue. And having the said ROBERT SWEETING, who was our friend at Tescuco always present with them for an interpreter, he made report for us, that in our own country speech, we could say them perfectly, although not word for word as they were in the Latin.

Then did they proceed to demand of us, upon our oaths, "What we did believe of the Sacrament?" and "Whether there did remain any bread or wine, after the words of consecration, Yea or No?" and whether we did not believe that the Host of bread which the priest did hold up over his head, and the wine that was in the chalice, was the very true and perfect body and blood of our Saviour CHRIST, Yea or No?"

To which, if we answered not "Yea!" then there was no way but death.

Then they would demand of us, "What did we remember of ourselves, what opinions we had held or been taught to hold contrary to the same, whiles we were in England?"

So we, for the safety of our lives, were constrained to say that, "We never did believe, nor had been taught otherwise than as before we had said."

Then would they charge us that "We did not tell them the truth. That they knew to the contrary, and therefore we should call ourselves to remembrance, and make them a better answer at the next time, or else we should be racked, and made to confess the truth whether we would or not!"

And so coming again before them, the next time, we were still demanded of "our belief whiles we were in England, and how we had been taught;" and also what we thought, or did know of such of our own company as they did name unto us. So that we could never be free from such demands.

And, at other times, they would promise us that if we would tell them truth, then should we have favour and be set at liberty; although we very well knew their fair speeches

were but means to intrap us, to the hazard and loss of our lives.

Howbeit, GOD so mercifully wrought for us, by a secret means that we had, that we kept us still to our first answer; and would still say that "we had told the truth unto them; and knew no more by ourselves, nor any other of our fellows than as we had declared; and that for our sins and offences in England, against GOD, and Our Lady, and any of His blessed Saints; we were right heartily sorry for the same, and did cry GOD, mercy!" And besought the Inquisitors, "For GOD's sake, considering that we came unto those countries by force of weather, and against our wills; and that we had never, in all our lives, either spoken or done anything contrary to their laws; that therefore they would have mercy upon us!" Yet all this would not serve.

About the space of three months before [*i.e., in January*, 1575] they proceeded to their severe judgement, we were all racked [*i.e., tortured on the rack*]; and some enforced to utter against themselves, which afterwards cost them their lives.

And having thus got, from our own mouths, sufficient for them to proceed in judgement against us; they caused a large scaffold to be made in the midst of the Market Place in Mexico, right over against the Head Church: and fourteen or fifteen days before the day of their judgement, with the sound of trumpet and the noise of their *attabalies* (which are a kind of drums) they did assemble the people in all parts of the city; before whom it was then solemnly proclaimed that "whosoever would, upon such a day, repair to the Market Place, they should hear the sentence of the Holy Inquisition against the English heretics, Lutherans; and also see the same put in execution."

Which being done, and the time approaching of this cruel judgement; the night before, they came to the prison where we were, with certain Officers of that Holy Hellish House, bringing with them certain fools' coats, which they had prepared for us, being called in their language, *San Benitos*, which coats were made of yellow cotton, and red crosses upon them both before and behind.

They were so busied in putting on their coats about us, and in bringing us out into a large yard, and placing and [ap]pointing us in what order we should go to the scaffold or

place of judgement upon the morrow, that they did not once suffer us to sleep all that night long.

The next morning being come, there was given to every one of us, for our breakfast, a cup of wine and a slice of bread fried in honey; and so about eight of the clock in the morning, we set forth of the prison: every man alone, in his yellow coat, and a rope about his neck, and a great green wax candle in his hand unlighted; having a Spaniard appointed, to go upon either side of every one of us.

So marching in this order and manner towards the Scaffold in the Market Place, which was a bow shot distant or thereabouts, we found a great assembly of people all the way, and such a throng that certain of the Inquisitors' Officers, on horseback, were constrained to make way.

So coming to the Scaffold, we went up by a pair of stairs, and found seats ready made, and prepared for us to sit down on, every man in the order as he should be called to receive his judgement.

We being thus set down as we were appointed: presently the Inquisitors came up another pair of stairs; and the Viceroy and all the Chief Justices with them.

When they were set down under the Cloth of Estate, and placed according to their degrees and calling; then came up also a great number of Friars, White, Black, and Grey. They, being about the number of 300 persons, were set in the places appointed for them there.

There was there a solemn *Oyez*! made; and silence commanded.

And then presently began their severe and cruel judgement.

The first man that was called, was one ROGER, the Chief Armourer of the *Jesus*: and he had judgement to have 300 stripes on horseback; and, after, was condemned to the galleys, as a slave, for ten years.

After him, were called JOHN GRAY, JOHN BROWNE, JOHN RIDER, JOHN MOON, JAMES COLLIER, and one THOMAS BROWNE. These were adjudged to have 200 stripes on horseback; and, after, to be committed to the galleys for the space of eight years.

Then was called JOHN KEIES, and was adjudged to

have 100 stripes on horseback; and condemned to serve in the galleys for the space of six years.

Then were severally called, to the number of fifty-three; one after another: and every man had his several judgement. Some to have 200 stripes on horseback, and some 100; and condemned for slaves in the galleys, some for six years, some for eight, and some for ten.

And then was I, MILES PHILLIPS, called; and was adjudged to serve in a Monastery for five years [*or rather the three years* 1575-1578, *see pp.* 204, 206] without any stripes; and to wear a fool's coat, or *San Benito*, during all that time.

Then were called JOHN STORY, RICHARD WILLIAMS, DAVID ALEXANDER, ROBERT COOKE, PAUL HORSEWELL, and THOMAS HULL. These six were condemned to serve in Monasteries without stripes; some for three years, and some for four; and to wear the *San Benito* during all the said time.

Which being done, and it now drawing towards night, GEORGE RIVELIE, PETER MOMFRIE, and CORNELIUS the Irishman were called: and had their judgement to be burnt to ashes. And so were presently [*immediately*] sent away to the place of execution in the Market Place, but a little from the Scaffold: where they were quickly burnt and consumed.

And as for us that had received our judgement, being 68 in number [*With the three burnt, the total number of the English sufferers was therefore* 71]; we were carried back that night to prison again.

And the next day, in the morning, being Good Friday [1st April], the year of our Lord 1575, we were all brought into a court of the Inquisitors' Palace; where we found a horse in a readiness for every one of our men which were condemned to have stripes, and to be committed to the galleys, which were in number 61.

So they being enforced to mount up on horseback, naked from the middle upwards, were carried to be shewed as a spectacle for all the people to behold throughout the chief and principal streets of the city; and had the number of stripes appointed to every one of them, most cruelly laid upon their naked bodies with long whips, by sundry men appointed to be the executioners thereof. And before our men

there went a couple of Criers, which cried as they went, "Behold these English dogs! Lutherans! enemies to GOD!" And all the way as they went, there were some of the Inquisitors themselves, and of the Familiars of that rakehell Order, that cried to the executioners, "Strike! Lay on those English heretics! Lutherans! GOD's enemies!"

So this horrible spectacle being shewed round about the city; and they returned to the Inquisitor's House, with their backs all gore blood, and swollen with great bumps: they were then taken from their horses; and carried [*taken*] again to prison, where they remained until they were sent into Spain to the galleys, there to receive the rest of their martyrdom.

I, and the six others with me, which had judgement, and were condemned amongst the rest, to serve an apprenticeship in the Monasteries, were taken presently, and sent to certain Religious Houses appointed for the purpose.

THE SIXTH CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewed how we were used in the Religious Houses; and that when the time was expired that we were adjudged to serve in them, there came news to Mexico of Master FRANCIS DRAKE*'s being in the South Sea; and what preparation was made to take him. And how I, seeking to escape, was again taken, and put in prison at Vera Cruz; and how again I made my escape from thence.*

I, MILES PHILLIPS, and WILLIAM LOWE were appointed to the Black Friars; where I was appointed to be an overseer of Indian workmen, who wrought there in building of a new church. Amongst which Indians, I learned their language or Mexican tongue very perfectly; and had great familiarity with many of them; whom I found to be a courteous and loving kind of people, ingenious and of great understanding; and they hate and abhor the Spaniards with all their hearts. They have used such horrible cruelties against them, and do still keep them

in such subjection and servitude that they, and the Negroes also, do daily lie in wait to practice their deliverance out of that thraldom and bondage that the Spaniards do keep them in. WILLIAM LOWE was appointed to serve the cook in the kitchen; RICHARD WILLIAMS and DAVID ALEXANDER were appointed to the Grey Friars; JOHN STORY and ROBERT COOKE to the White Friars. PAUL HORSEWELL, the Secretary [PEDRO DE LA RIOS] took to be his servant. THOMAS HULL was sent to a Monastery of priests; where, afterwards, he died.

Thus we served out the years that we were condemned for, with the use of our fools' coats. And we must needs confess that the Friars did use us very courteously; for every one of us had his chamber with bedding and diet, and all things clean and neat. Yea, many of the Spaniards and Friars themselves do utterly abhor and mislike that cruel Inquisition; and would, as they durst, bewail our miseries, and comfort us the best they could: although they stood in such fear of that devilish Inquisition, that they durst not let the left hand know what the right doeth.

Now after that the time was expired, for which we were condemned to serve in those Religious Houses; we were then brought again [*in* 1578, *in* PHILLIP'S *case*, *see pp.* 202, 206] before the Chief Inquisitor; and had all our fools' coats pulled off, and hanged up in the Head Church, called *Ecclesia Majore*; and every man's name and judgement written thereupon, with this addition, *An heretic Lutheran reconciled.* And there are also all their coats hanged up which were condemned to the galleys, with their names and judgements, and under each coat, *Heretic Lutheran reconciled.* And also, the coats and names of the three that were burned; whereupon was written, *An obstinate heretic Lutheran burnt.*

Then we were suffered to go up and down the country and to place ourselves as we could; and yet not so free but that we very well knew that there was good espial always attending us and all our actions: so that we durst not once to speak or look awry.

DAVID ALEXANDER and ROBERT COOKE returned to serve the Inquisitor [Don PEDRO MOYA DE CONTRERES]; who, shortly after, married them both to two of his Negro women. RICHARD WILLIAMS married a rich widow of Biscay, with

4,000 pesos [=£800 = *about* £5,000 *now*]. PAUL HORSEWELL is married to a *Mestizoa*; as they name those whose fathers were Spaniards, and their mothers Indians; and this woman which PAUL HORSWELL hath married is said to be the daughter of one that came in with HERNANDO CORTES the Conqueror. Who had with her, in marriage, 4,000 pesos [=£800=£5,000 *now*] and a fair house. JOHN STORY is married to a Negro woman. WILLIAM LOWE had leave and license to go into Spain; where he is now [? 1583] married.

For mine own part, I could never thoroughly settle myself to marry in that country; although many fair offers were made unto me, of such as were of great ability and wealth: but I could have no liking to live in that place where I must everywhere see and know such horrible idolatry committed, and durst not once, for my life, speak against it; and therefore I had always a longing and desire to this my native country. To return and serve again in the mines, where I might have gathered great riches and wealth; I very well saw that [thereby], at one time or another, I should fall again into the danger of that devilish Inquisition; and so be stripped of all, with loss of life also. And therefore I made my choice rather to learn to weave grogranes [*grograms*] and taffetas.

So, compounding with a Silk Weaver, I bound myself for three years to serve him; and gave him 150 pesos [=£30 = *about* £250 *now*] to teach me the science; otherwise he would not have taught me under a seven years' apprenticeship. And, by this means, I lived the more quiet and free from suspicion.

Howbeit, I should, many times, be charged by Familiars of that devilish House that "I had a meaning to run away into England, and to be a heretic Lutheran again!"

To whom, I would answer that "They had no need to suspect any such thing in me; for that they all knew very well, that it was impossible for me to escape by any manner of means."

Yet, notwithstanding, I was called before the Inquisitor, and demanded, "Why I did not marry?"

I answered, "That I had bound myself at an occupation."

"Well," said the Inquisitor, "I know thou meanest to run away; and therefore I charge thee, here, upon pain of burning as a relapsed heretic, that thou depart not out of this city!

nor come near to the port of San Juan de Ulua, nor to any other port."

To the which, I answered "That I would willingly obey."

"Yea," said he, "see thou do so! And thy fellows also, they shall have the like charge."

So I remained at my science [*trade*] the full time [*i.e., three years*, 1578–1581], and learned the art.*

At the end [*or rather, in the midst of his apprenticeship*, see *pp.* 202, 204-5] whereof, there came news to Mexico, that there were certain Englishmen landed, with a great power, at the port of Acapulco upon the South Sea; and that they were coming to Mexico, to take the spoil thereof: which wrought a marvellous great fear amongst them; and many of those that were rich, began to shift for themselves, their wives and children.

Upon which hurly burly, the Viceroy caused a general Muster to be made of all the Spaniards in Mexico, and there were found to the number of 7,000 and odd householders of Spaniards in the city and suburbs; and of single men, unmarried, the number of 3,000; and of *Mestizos* (which are counted to be the sons of Spaniards born of Indian women) 20,000.

Then were PAUL HORSEWELL and I, MILES PHILLIPS, sent for before the Viceroy; and were examined "If we did know an Englishman named FRANCIS DRAKE, which was brother to Captain HAWKINS?"

To which we answered, that "Captain HAWKINS had not any brother but one; who was a man of the age of threescore years or thereabouts, and was now Governor of Plymouth in England."

And then he demanded of us, "If we knew one FRANCIS DRAKE?"

* Sir FRANCIS DRAKE was at Acapulco in March, 1579: by which time, PHILLIPS's sentence had expired, and he is apprenticed to the Silk Weaver; therefore his sentence must have been for the three (not five) years 1575-1578. Then he served an apprenticeship of three years (1578-1581); and, apparently, afterwards, continued as a workman with his Master till he made his escape home in the Spanish Fleet of the autumn of 1582; finally reaching England in February, 1583, which was in the *sixteenth* year of his absence, or as he roughly reckons it, at *p.* 218 *after sixteen years' absence.*

And we answered, "No!" [*Of course they knew him well; but denied it.*]

While these things were in doing, there came news that all the Englishmen were gone. Yet were there 800 men made out, under the leading of several Captains. Whereof 200 were sent to the port of San Juan de Ulua upon the North Sea, under the conduct of Don LOUIS SUAREZ; 200 were sent to Guatemala in the South Sea, who had for their Captain, JUAN CORTES; 200 more were sent to Guatulco, a port of the South Sea, over whom went for Captain, Don PEDRO DE ROBLIS; and 200 more were sent to Acapulco, the port where it was said Captain DRAKE had been, and they had for Captain, Doctor ROBLIS ALCADE DE CORTE; with whom I, MILES PHILLIPS, went as Interpreter, having license given by the Inquisitors.

When we were come to Acapulco [*in May*, 1579], we found that Captain DRAKE was departed from thence, more than a month before we came thither [*i.e., in March*, 1579].

But yet our Captain ALCADE DE CORTE, there presently embarked himself, in a small ship of 60 tons or thereabouts, having also in company with him, two other small barks; and not past 200 men in all. With whom, I went as Interpreter in his own ship; which, GOD knoweth! was but weak and ill appointed; so that, for certain, if we had met with Captain DRAKE, he might easily have taken us all.

We being embarked, kept our course, and ran southward towards Panama, keeping still as nigh the shore as we could, and having the land upon our left hand. Having coasted thus, for the space of eighteen or twenty days; and having reached more to the south than Guatemala; we met, at last, with other ships which came from Panama. Of whom we were certainly informed that Captain DRAKE was clean gone off the coast, more than a month before.

So we returned back to Acapulco again, and there landed: our Captain being forced thereunto: because his men were very sore sea sick.

All the while that I was at sea with them, I was a glad man. For I hoped that if we met with Master DRAKE, we should all be taken: so that then I should have been freed out of that danger and misery wherein I lived; and should return to my own country of England again. But missing

thereof, when I saw there was no remedy, but that we must needs come on land again. Little doth any man know the sorrow and grief that inwardly I felt; although outwardly, I was constrained to make fair weather of it.

And so, being landed, the next morrow after, we began our journey towards Mexico; and passed these towns of name in our way. As first, the town of Tuantepec, 50 leagues from Mexico; from thence, to Washaca, 40 leagues from Mexico; from thence, to Tepiaca, 24 leagues from Mexico; and from thence, to La Puebla de los Angelos, where is a high hill [*volcano*] which casteth out fire three times a day, which hill is 18 leagues in a manner directly west from Mexico. From thence, we went to Stapelapa, 8 leagues from Mexico; and there, our Captain and most of his men took boat, and came to Mexico again [*about July*, 1579]: having been forth, about the space of seven weeks or thereabouts.

Our Captain made report to the Viceroy, what he had done, and how far he had travelled; and that he was informed for certain, that Captain DRAKE was not to be heard of.

To which, the Viceroy replied and said, "Surely, we shall have him shortly come into our hands, driven aland through necessity, in some one place or other. For he being now in these Seas of the South, it is not possible for him to get out of them again. So that if he perish not at sea; yet hunger will force him to land!"

And then again I was commanded by the Viceroy, that I should not depart the city of Mexico; but always be at my Master's house [*It is clear from this, that PHILLIPS was still serving his time with the Silk Weaver*] in a readiness at an hour's warning, whensoever I should be called for.

That notwithstanding, within one month after [? *nearly three years, i.e., in* 1582], certain Spaniards going to Mecameca, 18 leagues from Mexico, to send away certain hides and cochineal that they had there, at their *Stantias* or Dairy Houses; and my Master having leave of the Secretary [*i.e., to the Inquisition, PEDRO DE LA RIOS*] for me to go with them, I took my journey with them, being very well horsed and appointed. Coming to Mecameca, and passing the time there certain days, till we had perfect intelligence that the Fleet was ready to depart; I, not being past three days'

journey from the port of San Juan de Ulua, thought it to be the meetest time for me to make an escape. And I was the bolder, presuming upon my Spanish tongue, which I spake as naturally as any of them all, thinking with myself that when I came to San Juan de Ulua, I would get to be entertained as a soldier, and so go home into Spain by the same Fleet.

Therefore, secretly, one evening late, the moon shining fair, I conveyed myself away: and riding so, for the space of two nights and two days, sometimes in [the road] and sometimes out, resting very little all that time, upon the second day at night, I came to the town of Vera Cruz, distant from the port of San Juan de Ulua, where the ships rode but only five leagues: here purposing to rest myself a day or two.

I was no sooner alighted, but, within the space of half an hour after, I was by ill hap arrested, and brought before the Justices there; being taken and suspected to be a gentleman's son of Mexico, that was run away from his father: who, in truth, was the man they sought for.

So I being arrested and brought before the Justices, there was a great hurly burly about the matter; every man charging me, that I was the son of such a man, dwelling in Mexico: which I flatly denied, affirming that I knew not the man; yet they would not believe me, but urged still upon me, that I was he that they sought for, and so I was conveyed away to prison.

And as I was thus going to prison, to the further increase of my grief, it chanced that, at that very instant, there was a poor man in the press, that was come to town to sell hens; who told the Justices that "They did me wrong; and that, in truth, he knew me very well, that I was an Englishman, and no Spaniard."

They then demanded of him, "How he knew that?" and threatened him that said so, for that he was my companion, and sought to convey me away from my father: so that he, also, was threatened to be laid in prison with me.

He, for the discharge of himself, stood stiffly in it that "I was an Englishman; and one of Captain HAWKINS's men; and that he had known me wear the *San Benito* in the

Black Friars at Mexico, for three or four whole years together."

Which when they heard, they forsook him; and began to examine me anew, "Whether that speech of his were true? Yea or no!"

Which when they perceived, that I could not deny; and perceiving that I was run from Mexico, and came thither of purpose to convey myself away with the Fleet; I was presently committed to prison, with a sorrowful heart, often wishing myself that that man which knew me, had at that time, been further off: howbeit he, in sincerity, had compassion of my distressed state; thinking by his speech and knowing of me, to have set me free from that present danger which he saw me in. Howbeit, contrary to his expectation, I was thereby brought into my extreme danger, and to the hazard of my life; yet there was no remedy but patience, perforce.

And I was no sooner brought into prison, but I had a great pair of bolts clapped on my legs; and thus I remained in that prison, for the space of three weeks: where were also many other prisoners, which were thither committed for sundry crimes, and condemned to the galleys.

During which time of imprisonment there, I found, amongst those my prison fellows, some that had known me before, in Mexico; and truly they had compassion of me, and would spare of their victuals and anything else that they had, to do me good.

Amongst whom, there was one of them, that told me, that he understood by a secret friend of his, which often came to the prison to him, that I should shortly be sent back again to Mexico by waggon; so soon as the Fleet was gone from San Juan de Ulua for Spain.

This poor man, my prison fellow, of himself and without any request made by me, caused his said friend, which often came to him to the grate of the prison, to bring him wine and victuals, to buy for him two knives, which had files in their backs, which files were so well made that they would serve and suffice any prisoner to file off his irons; and of those knives or files, he brought me one, and told me that he had caused it to be made for me, and let me have it at the very price it cost him which was 2 pesos, the value of 8s. of

our money [=*about £3 now*]. Which knife, when I had it, I was a joyful man; and conveyed the same into the foot of my boot, upon the inside of my left leg.

So, within three or four days after I had thus received my knife, I was suddenly called for, and brought before the head Justice, which caused those my irons with the round bolt to be striken off, and sent to a smith's in the town; where was a new pair of bolts made ready for me, of another fashion, which had a broad iron bar coming between the shackles: and caused my hands to be made fast with a pair of manacles.

And so was I presently laid in a waggon, all alone, which was there ready to depart towards Mexico; with sundry other waggons, to the number of sixty, all laden with sundry merchandise which came in the Fleet out of Spain.

The waggon that I was in, was foremost of all the company; and as we travelled, I, being alone in the waggon, began to try if I could pluck my hands out of the manacles: and, as GOD would! although it were somewhat painful for me, yet my hands were so slender that I could pull them out, and put them in again; and ever, as we went, when the waggons made most noise, and the men busiest, I would be working to file off my bolts.

Travelling thus, for the space of eight leagues from Vera Cruz, we came to a high hill; at the entering up of which, as GOD would! one of the wheels of the waggon wherein I was, brake; so that, by that means, the other waggons went afore; and the waggon man that had charge of me, set an Indian carpenter a work to mend the wheel.

Here, at this place, they baited [*fed*] at a hostelry that a Negro woman keeps; and, at this place, for that the going up of the hill is very steep for the space of two leagues or better, they do always accustom to take the mules of three or four waggons, and to place them all together for the drawing up of one waggon; and so to come down again, and fetch up others in that order.

All which came very well to pass. For as it drew towards night, when most of the waggoners were gone to draw up their waggons in this sort, I, being alone, had quickly filed off my bolts. And so espying my time, in the dark of the

evening, before they returned down the hill again, I conveyed myself into the woods there adjoining, carrying my bolts and manacles with me, and a few biscuits and two small cheeses.

Being come into the woods, I threw my irons into a thick bush; and then covered them with moss and other things: and then shifted for myself as I might, all that night.

And thus, by the good providence of Almighty GOD, I was freed from mine irons, all saving the collar that was about my neck; and so got my liberty the second time.

THE SEVENTH CHAPTER.

Wherein is shewed how I escaped to Guatemala upon the South Sea, and from thence, to the port of Cavallios, where I got passage to go into Spain. And of our arrival at the Havana; and our coming into Spain; where I was again like[ly] to have been committed prisoner. And how, through the great mercy of GOD, I escaped; and came home in safety, in February, 1582 [*i.e.* 1583].

THE next morning, daylight being come, I perceived by the sun rising, what way to take to escape their hands; for when I fled I took the way into the woods upon the left hand, and having left that way that went to Mexico upon my right hand, I thought to keep my course, as the woods and mountains lay, still direct south, as near as I could; by means whereof, I was sure to convey myself far enough from that way that went to Mexico.

And as I was thus going in the woods, I saw many great fires made to the north, not past a league from the mountain where I was.

Travelling thus in my boots, with my iron collar about my neck, and my bread and cheese; the very same forenoon, I met with a company of Indians, which were hunting deer for their sustenance: to whom I spake in the Mexican tongue, and told them how that I had, of a long time, been kept in prison by the cruel Spaniards, and did desire them to help

me to file off mine iron collar; which they willingly did, rejoicing greatly with me, that I was thus escaped out of the Spaniards' hands.

Then I desired that I might have one of them to guide me out of those desert mountains, towards the South; which they also most willingly did: and so they brought me to an Indian town eight leagues distant from thence, named Shalapa [? *now Jalapa*]; where I stayed three days, for that I was somewhat sickly.

At which town, with the gold that I had quilted in my doublet, I bought me a horse of one of the Indians, which cost me 6 pesos [=£1 4*s*.=*about* £9 *now*]; and so, travelling South, within the space of two leagues, I happened to overtake a Grey Friar: one that I had been familiar withal in Mexico, whom then, I knew to be a zealous good man, and one that did much lament the cruelty used against us by the Inquisitors. And, truly, he used me very courteously.

I, having confidence in him, did indeed tell him that I was moved to adventure to see if I could get out of the said country, if I could find shipping; and did therefore pray of of him aid, direction, and advice herein: which he faithfully did, not only in directing me which was my safest way to travel; but he also, of himself, kept me company for the space of three days, and ever as we came to the Indians' houses, who used and entertained us well, he gathered among them, in money, to the value of 20 pesos [=£4=£32 *now*]; which, at my departure from him, he freely gave unto me.

So came I to the city of Guatemala, which is distant from Mexico, about 250 leagues; where I stayed six days, for that my horse was weak.

From thence, I travelled, still south-and-by-east, seven days' journey, passing by certain Indian towns, until I came to an Indian town distant from Mexico, direct South, 309 leagues.

And here, at this town, inquiring to go to the port of Cavallios on the North-East Sea; it was answered, that in travelling thither, I should not come to any town in ten or twelve days' journey.

So here, I hired two Indians to be my guide, and I bought hens and bread to serve us so long a time; and took with us

things to kindle fire every night because of the wild beasts, and to dress our meat. Every night, when we rested, my Indian guides would make two great fires, between which, we placed ourselves and my horse; and in the night time, we should hear the lions' [!] roars, with tigers [!], ounces, and other beasts; and some of them we should see in the night, which had eyes shining like fire.

And travelling thus for the space of twelve days, we came at last to the port of Cavallios, upon the East Sea; distant from Guatemala, south-and-by-east, 200 leagues; and from Mexico, 450 or thereabouts. This is a good harbour for ships, and it is without either Castle or Bulwark.

Having despatched away my guides, I went down to the haven, where I saw certain ships ladened chiefly with Canary wines; where I spake with one of the Masters, who asked me, "What countryman I was?"

I told him that "I was born in Granada."

And he said, "Then I was his countryman."

I required him that "I might pass home with him, in his ship, paying for my passage."

And he said, "Yea, so that I had a safe conduct or letter testimonial to shew, that he might incur no danger: for," said he, "it may be you have killed some man, or be indebted: and would therefore run away."

To that, I answered, "There was not any such cause."

Well, in the end, we grew to a price, that for 60 pesos [=£12=*about* £100 *now*], he would carry me into Spain.

A glad man was I at this good hap! and I quickly sold my horse, and made my provision of hens and bread to serve me in my passage.

And thus, within two days after, we set sail, and never stayed until we came to the Havana; which is distant from the port of Cavallios, by sea, 500 leagues: where we found the whole Fleet of Spain, which was bound home from the Indies.

And here, I was hired for a soldier, to serve in the Admiral's ship of the same Fleet, wherein the General himself went.

There landed while I was there, four ships out of Spain, being all full of soldiers and ordnance, of which number,

there were 200 men and four great brass pieces of ordnance; although the Castle was before sufficiently provided. 200 men more, and certain ordnance were sent to Campeche; 200 with ordnance to Florida; and lastly 100 to San Juan de Ulua. As for ordnance there, they have sufficient, and of the very same which was ours, which we had in the *Jesus*; and those others which we had planted in the place where the Viceroy betrayed Master HAWKINS, our General: as hath been declared. The sending of those soldiers to every of those ports, and the strengthening of them, was done by commandment from the King of Spain: who wrote also by them, to the General of his Fleet, giving him in charge so to do; as also directing him what course he should keep in his coming home into Spain. Charging him, at any hand, not to come nigh to the Isles of the Azores, but to keep his course more to the northward; advertising him withal, what number and power of French and other Ships of War Don ANTONIO had, at that time, at Terceira and the Isles aforesaid; which the General of the Fleet well considering, and what great share of riches he had to bring home with him into Spain, did, in all, very dutifully observe and obey. For, in truth, he had in his said Fleet, 37 Sail of ships: and in every of them, there was as good as 30 pipes of silver, one with another; besides great store of gold, cochineal, sugar, hides, and *cana fistula*, with Apothecary drugs.

This, our General, who was called Don PEDRO DE GUSMAN, did providently take order for, for their most strength and defence, if need should be, to the uttermost of his power: and commanded, upon pain of death, that neither passenger nor soldier should come aboard, without his sword and harquebuss, with shot and powder; to the end that they might be the better able to encounter the fleet of Don ANTONIO, if they should hap to meet with them, or any of them. And ever as the weather was fair, the said General would himself go aboard from one ship to another; and see that every man had his full provision, according to the commandment given.

Yet, to speak truly what I think, two good tall Ships of War would have made a foul spoil amongst them. For, in all this Fleet, there were not any that were strong and warlike appointed; saving only the admiral and vice-admiral:

and again, over and besides the weakness and the ill furnishing of the rest, they were all so deeply laden, that they had not been able, if they had been charged, to have held out any long fight.

Well, thus we set sail, and had a very ill passage home, the weather was so contrary. We kept our course in a manner north-east, and brought ourselves to the height of 42° N. Lat., to be sure not to meet with Don ANTONIO his fleet: and were upon our voyage from the 4th of June until the 10th of September [1582]; and never saw land till we fell with the Arenas Gordas hard by San Lucar de Barrameda.

And there was an order taken that none should go on shore until he had license.

As for me, I was known by one in the ship; who told the Master that I was an Englishman; which, as GOD would! it was my good hap to hear; for if I had not heard it, it had cost me my life. Notwithstanding, I would not take any knowledge of it, and seemed to be merry and pleasant that we were all come so well in safety.

Presently after, license came, that we should go on shore: and I pressed to be gone with the first.

Howbeit, the Master came unto me, and said, "Sirrah! you must go with me to Seville by water!" I knew his meaning well enough; and that he meant to offer me up as a sacrifice to the Holy House. For the ignorant zeal of a number of these superstitious Spaniards is such, that they think that they have done GOD good service, when they have brought a Lutheran heretic to the fire to be burnt. For so do they account of us.

Well, I perceiving all this, took upon me not to suspect anything, but was still jocund and merry; howbeit, I knew it stood upon me to shift for myself. So waiting my time, when the Master was asleep in his cabin, I conveyed myself secretly down by the shrouds into the ship's boat, and made no stay, but cutting the rope wherewith she was moored, and so by the cable hauled on shore; where I leapt on land, and let the boat go whither it would.

Thus, by the help of GOD, I escaped that day, and then never stayed at San Lucar; but went all night by the way which I had seen others take towards Seville.

So that, the next morning, I came to Seville, and sought me out a work master, that I might fall to my science, which was the weaving of taffetas. And being entertained, I set myself close to my work, and durst not, for my life! once stir abroad for fear of being known.

Being thus at my work, within four days after, I heard one of my fellows say that he heard there was great inquiry made for an Englishman that came home in the Fleet.

"What, an heretic Lutheran was it!" quoth I; "I would to GOD, I might know him! Surely, I would present him to the Holy House!"

And thus I kept still within doors at my work; and feigned myself not well at ease; and that I would labour as I might to get me new clothes. And continuing thus for the space of three months, I called for my wages; and bought me all things new, different from the apparel that I did wear at sea; and yet durst not be overbold to walk abroad.

And, after, understanding that there were certain English ships at San Lucar, bound for England: I took a boat, and went aboard one of them, and desired the Master that I might have passage with him to go into England; and told him secretly, that I was one of those which Captain HAWKINS did set on shore in the Indies.

He very courteously prayed me to have him excused; for he durst not meddle with me, and prayed me therefore to return from whence I came.

Which when I perceived, with a sorrowful heart, GOD knoweth! I took my leave of him; not without watery cheeks.

And then, I went to Porto Santa Maria, which is three leagues from San Lucar; where I put myself to be a soldier in the King of Spain's Galleys, which were bound for Majorca.

Coming thither, in the end of the Christmas holidays [*i.e.*, *about the 6th January*, 1583], I found there, two English ships, the one of London, and the other of the West Country: which were ready freighted, and stayed but for a fair wind. To the Master of the one which was of the West Country, went I, and told him that "I had been two years in Spain, to learn the language; and that I was now desirous to go

home, and see my friends, for that I lacked maintenance." So having agreed with him, for my passage, I took shippng.

And thus, through the providence of Almighty GOD, after sixteen years' absence; having sustained many and sundry great troubles and miseries, as by this Discourse appeareth: I came home to this, my native country of England, in the ship called the *Landret*, and arrived at Poole, in the month of February, in the year 1582 [*i.e.*, 1583].

[THIRD NARRATIVE, BY ANOTHER SURVIVOR.]

THE RARE

Travels of JOB HORTOP, an Englishman, who was not heard of, in three and twenty years' space.

Wherein is declared the dangers he escaped in his Voyage to Guinea; where, after he was set on shore, in a wilderness near to Panico [*Tampico*], he endured much slavery and bondage in the Spanish Galleys.

Wherein also he discourseth many strange and wonderful things seen in the time of his travels; as well concerning wild and savage people, as also of sundry monstrous beasts, fishes, and fowls: and also trees of wonderful form and quality.

LONDON:
Printed for WILLIAM WRIGHT.
1591.

[∴ Title and Dedication of the original tract only are here reprinted. The narrative itself is taken as rewritten in HAKLUYT.]

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTY PRINCESS

ELIZABETH,

by the grace of GOD, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defendress of the Faith, &c.

Your Highness's most humble subject, JOB HORTOP, heartily prayeth for a continuance of your Majesty's most prosperous reign.

MOST GRACIOUS AND RENOWNED SOVEREIGN!

BEING, about three and twenty years' past, pressed forth to serve in a Gunner's room, for the Guinea Voyage, of which Sir JOHN HAWKINS was General; such was our success, before his return into England [that] we were distressed through want of victuals, nor could we obtain any for money. By means whereof, many of us (though to our General's great grief), were constrained to be set on shore, in a land inhabited by none but Negroes [*Indians*] and wild people.

Since which time, most dread Sovereign! I have passed sundry perils in the wildernesses, and escaped many dangers; wherein my life often stood in great hazard; yet, by the Providence of GOD preserved.

And being now come into my native country of England; I do, in all humbleness, prostrate myself, together with this Discourse of my travels, at your Highness's feet! humbly beseeching Your Majesty to accept the same at your subject's hands, as our Saviour CHRIST accepted the widow's mite.

And thus, I humbly take my leave! praying
for the prosperous reign of your
most Excellent Majesty.

The Rare Travels of Job Hortop.

[Opening of the original tract of 1591.]

TO DISCOURSE, in large circumstances, the full scope of this my tedious travail would seem superfluous; and in omitting that which is most needful, I might commit great folly: wherefore, to avoid circumstance, and yet to deliver matters of chiefest effect; I will, so near as I may, briefly, yet truly, run over the principal points, and particular substance of my travels, troubles, and dangers sustained since my departure, even until my return into England: which I am most joyful to see to stand in so happy and flourishing estate, which I pray GOD still to continue, to the world's end!

[Opening of the revised and better written text in HAKLUYT. *Voyages, &c.*, iii. 487. *Ed.* 1600.]

NOT untruly, nor without cause, said JOB, the faithful servant of GOD, whom the Sacred Scriptures tell us to have dwelt in the land of Hus, that "Man, being born of a woman, living a short time, is replenished with many miseries": which some know by reading of histories, many by the view of others' calamities, and I, by experience in myself; as this present ensuing Treatise shall shew.

It is not unknown to many, that I, JOB HORTOP, Powder Maker, was born at Bourne, a town in Lincolnshire.

From my age of twelve years, I was brought at Redriffe [*Radcliffe*], near London, with Master FRANCIS, who was the Queen's Majesty's Powder Maker: whom I served, until I was pressed [*compelled*] to go on the Third Voyage to the West Indies, with the Right Worshipful Sir JOHN HAWKINS; who appointed me to be one of the gunners in Her Majesty's Ship, called the *Jesus* of Lubeck.

Who set sail from Plymouth, in the month of October, 1567, having with him, another Ship of Her Majesty's, called the *Minion*; and four ships of his own, namely, the *Angel*, the *Swallow*, the *Judith*, and the *William and John*. He directed his Vice Admiral, that if foul weather did separate them, to meet at the island of Teneriffe.

After which, by the space of seven days and seven nights, we had such storms at sea, that we lost our long boats and a pinnace; with some men.

Coming to the island of Teneriffe, there our General heard that his Vice Admiral, with the *Swallow* and the *William and John*, were at the island called Gomera; where finding his Vice Admiral, he anchored, took in fresh water, and set sail for Cape Blanc.

In the way, we took a Portuguese caravel, ladened with mullets.

From thence, we sailed to Cape de Verde.

In our course thither, we met a Frenchman of Rochelle, called Captain BLAND; who had taken a Portuguese caravel: whom our Vice Admiral chased and took. Captain DRAKE, now Sir FRANCIS DRAKE, was made Master and Captain of the caravel.*

So we kept our way, till we came to Cape de Verde; and there we anchored, took our boats, and set soldiers on shore. Our General was the first that leapt on land; and with him, Captain DUDLEY.

There, we took certain Negroes; but not without damage to ourselves: for our General, Captain DUDLEY, and eight others of our company were hurt with poisoned arrows.

* This would appear to be DRAKE's first command. The Captain of the *Judith*, when she left England, is not stated. Apparently he died (?), and DRAKE was promoted (?) from this caravel (*i.e.* the *Grace of God*, commanded by the Frenchman, Captain BLAND, at the fight, *p.* 184) to the *Judith*, in which he brought home the first news of the disaster, *pp.* 85-8.

About nine days after, the eight that were wounded, died. Our General was taught by a Negro, to draw the poison out of his wound, with a clove of garlic; whereby he was cured.

From thence, we went to Sierra Leone, where be monstrous fishes, called sharks, which will devour men.

I, amongst others, was sent in the *Angel*, with two pinnaces, into the river, called Calousa, to seek two caravels that were there, trading with the Negroes. We took one of them, with the Negroes, and brought them away.

In this river, in the night time, we had one of our pinnaces bulged by a sea horse [*hippopotamus*]: so that our men swimming about the river, were all taken into the other pinnaces; except two that took hold one of another, and were carried away by the sea horse [*or rather drowned*]. This monster hath the just proportion of a horse, saving that his legs be short, his teeth very great and a span in length. He used, in the night, to go on land into the woods; seeking, at unawares, to devour the Negroes in their cabins: whom they, by their vigilancy, prevent, and kill him in this manner. The Negroes keep watch, and diligently attend their coming; and when they are gone into the woods, they forthwith lay a great tree overthwart the way: so that, at their return, for that their legs be so short, they cannot go over it. Then the Negroes set upon them, with their bows, arrows, and darts; and so destroy them.

From thence, we entered the river called the Casseroes; where there were other caravels trading with the Negroes: and them we took. In this island betwixt the river and the main, trees grow with oysters upon them.

There grow Palmito trees, which be as high as a ship's mainmast; and on their tops grow nuts, wine, and oil, which they call Palmito Wine and Palmito Oil.

The Plantain tree also groweth in that country. The tree is as big as a man's thigh, and as high as a fir pole. The leaves thereof be long and broad; and on the top grow the fruit which are called Plantains. They are crooked, and a cubit long, and as big as a man's finger. They grow on clusters. When they be ripe, they be very good and dainty to eat: sugar is not more delicate in taste than they be.

From thence, with the *Angel*, the *Judith*, and the two pinnaces, we sailed to Sierra Leone; where our General was

at that time; who with the Captains and soldiers went up into the river called Taggarin, to take a town of the Negroes: where we found three Kings of that country, with 50,000 Negroes, besieging the same town; which they could not take, in many years before, when they had warred with it.

Our General made a breach, entered, and valiantly took the town; where were five Portuguese, which yielded themselves to his mercy, and he saved their lives.

We took, and carried from thence, for traffic in the West Indies, 500 Negroes.

The three Kings drove 7,000 Negroes into the sea, at low water, at a point of land; where they were all drowned in the ooze, for that they could not take their canoes to save themselves.

We returned back again, in our pinnaces, to the ships, and there took in fresh water, and made ready to sail towards Rio Grande.

At our coming thither, we entered with the *Angel*, the *Judith*, and the two pinnaces; and found there, seven Portuguese caravels, which made great fight with us. In the end, by GOD's help, we won the victory, and drave them to the shore: from whence, with the Negroes, they fled; and we fetched the caravels from the shore into the river.

The next morning, Master FRANCIS DRAKE with his caravel, the *Swallow*, and the *William and John*, came into the river, with Captain DUDLEY and his soldiers: who landed, being but a hundred soldiers, and fought with 7,000 Negroes, burned the town, and returned to our General, with the loss of one man.

In that place, there be many musk-cats, which breed in hollow trees. The Negroes take them in a net, put them in a cage, nourish them very daintily, and take the musk from them with a spoon.

Now we directed our course from Guinea towards the West Indies.

And by the way, died Captain DUDLEY.

In sailing towards the Indies, the first land that we escried, was the island called Dominica: where, at our coming, we anchored; and took in fresh water and wood for our provision.

Which done, we sailed towards the island called Margarita; where our General, in despite of the Spaniards, anchored, landed, and took in fresh victuals.

A mile off the island, there is a rock in the sea, whereon do breed many fowls like unto Barnacles. In the night, we went out in our boats, and killed many of them with cudgels; and brought them, with many of their eggs aboard with us. Their eggs be as big as Turkey's eggs, and speckled like them. We did eat them, and found them very good meat.

From thence, we sailed to Burboroata, which is in the main land of the West Indies [*i.e., on the northern shore of South America*]. There we came in, moored our ships, and tarried two months, trimming and dressing our ships: and, in the meantime, traded with certain Spaniards of that country.

There, our General sent us unto a town, called Placencia, which stood on a high hill, to have intreated a Bishop that dwelt there, for his favour and friendship in their laws: who, hearing of our coming, for fear, forsook the town.

In our way up the hill to Placencia, we found a monstrous venomous worm with two heads. His body was as big as a man's arm, and a yard long. Our Master, ROBERT BARRET, did cut him in sunder, with his sword; and it made it as black as if it were coloured with ink.

Here be many tigers [jaguars?], monstrous and furious beasts, which, by subtlety, devour and destroy many men. They use the traded ways, and will shew themselves twice or thrice to the travellers; and so depart secretly, lurking till they be past: then, suddenly and at unawares, they leap upon them, and devour them. They had so used two of our company, had not one of them looked behind.

Our General sent three ships unto the Island of Curaçoa to make provision for the rest; where they remained until his coming.

He sent from thence, the *Angel* and the *Judith* to Rio de la Hacha; where we [*HORTOP apparently was serving in the* Angel *at this time*] anchored before the town. The Spaniards shot three pieces at us from the shore; whom we requited with two of ours, and shot through the Governor's house. We weighed anchor, and anchored again without the shot of the town; where we rode, five days, in despite of the Spaniards and their shot.

In the mean space, there came a Caravel of Advice [*Despatch boat*] from Santo Domingo; which, with the *Angel* and *Judith*, we chased and drove to the shore. We fetched him from thence, in spite of two hundred Spaniard harquebuss shot [*i.e., harquebussiers*]; and anchored again before the town, and rode there with them till our General's coming: who anchored, landed his men, and valiantly took the town, with the loss of one man, whose name was THOMAS SURGEON.

We landed, and planted our field ordnance on the shore for our safety. We drove the Spaniards up into the country above two leagues; whereby they were enforced to trade with our General, to whom he sold most part of his Negroes.

In this river we killed a monstrous *legarto* or crocodile [*or rather alligator*], at sunset, in the port. Seven of us went in the pinnace up the river, carrying with us a dog, unto whom, with rope yarn, we bound a great hook of steel, with a chain that had a swivel, which we put under the dog's belly, the point of the hook coming over his back, fast bound as aforesaid. We put him overboard, and veered out our rope by little and little, rowing away with our boat.

The *legarto* came and presently swallowed up the dog, then did we row hard till we had choked him. He plunged and made a wonderful stir in the water. We leapt on shore, and hauled on land. He was twenty-three feet by the rule, headed like a hog, in body like a serpent, full of scales as broad as a saucer, his tail long and full of knots as big as a "falcon shot." He had four legs; his feet had long nails like unto a dragon.

We opened him, flayed him, dried his skin, and stuffed it with straw, meaning to have brought it home, had not the ship been cast away.

These monsters will carry away and devour both man and horse.

From thence, we shaped our course to Santa Marta, where we landed, traded, and sold certain Negroes.

There two of our number killed a monstrous adder, going towards his cave with a cony in his mouth. His body was as big as any man's thigh, and seven feet long. Upon his tail he had sixteen knots, every one as big as a great walnut, which, they say, do shew his age. His colour was green

and yellow. They opened him and found two conies in his belly.

From thence we sailed to Cartagena, where we went in, moored our ships, and would have traded with them; but they durst not for fear of the King.

We brought up the *Minion* against the Castle, and shot at the Castle and town.

Then we landed in an island, where they have many gardens; where, in a cave, we found certain *botijos* of wine, which we brought away with us. In recompense whereof, our General commanded to be set on shore woollen and linen cloth, to the value thereof.

From hence, by foul weather, we were forced to seek the port of San Juan de Ulua.

In our way, thwart of [*off*] Campeche, we met with a Spaniard, a small ship, which was bound for Santo Domingo. It had in it a Spaniard called AUGUSTINE DE VILLA NEUVA; who was the man that betrayed all the noblemen in the Indies, and caused them to be beheaded; wherefore he, with two Friars, fled to Santo Domingo. We took and brought them with us into the port of San Juan de Ulua. Our General made great account of him, and used him like a Nobleman; howbeit, in the end, he was one of them that betrayed us.

When we had moored our ships, and landed [*at San Juan de Ulua*]; we mounted the ordnance that we found there in the Island; and for our safety, kept watch and ward.

The next day after, we discovered the Spanish Fleet; whereof LUÇON, a Spaniard, was General. With him came a Spaniard called Don MARTIN DE HENRIQUEZ, whom the King of Spain sent to be his Viceroy of the Indies.

He sent a pinnace with a flag of truce unto our General, to know, "Of what country those ships were, that rode there in the King of Spain's port?"

Who said, "They were the Queen of England's ships, which came in there for victuals for their money: wherefore if your General will come in here! he shall give me victuals and other necessaries, and I will go out on the one side of the port, and he shall come in on the other side."

The Spaniard returned for answer, "He was a Viceroy, and had a thousand men, and therefore he would come in!"

Our General said, "If he be a Viceroy; I represent my Queen's person; and I am a Viceroy as well as he! and if he have a thousand men, my powder and shot will take the better place!"

Then the Viceroy, after counsel among themselves, yielded to our General's demand, swearing "by his King and his crown, by his commission and authority that he had from his King, that he would perform it!" and thereupon pledges were given on both parts.

Our General, bearing a godly and Christian mind, void of fraud and deceit, judged the Spaniards to have done the like, delivered to them ten gentlemen; not doubting to have received the like from them: but the faithless Spaniards, in costly apparel, gave of the basest of their company; as afterwards it was well known.

These things finished, Proclamation was made on both sides that "on pain of death, no occasion should be given, whereby any quarrel should grow to the breach of the league": and then they peaceably entered the port, with great triumph on both sides.

The Spaniards presently brought a great Hulk, a ship of 600 [*tons*], and moored her by the side of the *Minion*; and they cut out ports in their other ships, planting their ordnance towards us.

In the night, they filled the Hulk with men, to lay the *Minion* aboard, as the sequel did show; which made our General doubtful of their dealings. Wherefore, for that he could speak the Spanish tongue, he sent ROBERT BARRET aboard the Viceroy['s ship], to know his meaning in those dealings. Who willed him and his company [*i.e., his boat's crew*] to come in to him; whom he presently [*instantly*] commanded to be set in the bilbows [*irons*].

And forthwith; for a watchword among the false Spaniards, a cornet [*trumpet*] was sounded for the enterprising of their pretended [*intended*] treason, against our General: whom AUGUSTINE DE VILLA NEUVA sitting at dinner [*HORTOP says, p. 317, the fight began at 10 a.m., which would be the dinner hour at sea, but HAWKINS says at 8 a.m., at p. 112*] with him, should

then presently have killed with a *poinado* [dagger], which he had privily in his sleeve: which was espied and prevented by one JOHN CHAMBERLAYNE, who took the *poinado* out of his sleeve. Our General hastily rose up, and commanded him to be put prisoner in the Steward's room, and to be kept with two men.

The faithless Spaniards thinking all things had been finished to their desire, suddenly sounded a trumpet; and therewith 300 Spaniards entered the *Minion*: whereat our General, with a loud and fierce voice called unto us, saying, "GOD and Saint George! upon those traitorous villains, and rescue the *Minion*! I trust in GOD, the day shall be ours!"

With that, the mariners and soldiers leaped out of the *Jesus* of Lubeck into the *Minion*, and beat out the Spaniards; and with a shot out of her [*the Minion*] fired the Spaniard's vice-admiral; where the most part of 300 Spaniards were spoiled, and blown overboard, with powder.

Their admiral also was on fire half an hour.

We cut our cables, wound off our ships, and presently fought with them. They came upon us on every side, and continued the fight from ten o'clock until it was night. They killed all our men that were on shore in the island; saving three [*of whom HORTOP was one; but see pp.* 112, 100, 181] which by swimming got aboard the *Jesus* of Lubeck. They sank the General's ship called the *Angel*, and took the *Swallow*. The Spaniard's admiral had above threescore shot through her; and many of his men were spoiled. Four other of their ships were sunk.

There were in that Fleet and that came from the shore to rescue them, 1,500: we slew of them 540, as we were credibly informed by a Note that came to Mexico.

In this fight, the *Jesus* of Lubeck had five shot through her mainmast, her foremast was struck in sunder under the hounds [*the holes in the timber cheeks, through which the ropes hoist the sails*] with a chain-shot; and her hull was wonderfully pierced with shot: therefore it was impossible to bring her away.

They set two of their own ships on fire* intending therewith

* It will be noticed that HORTOP's account differs somewhat from the former ones; and yet it may be harmonized. The fireships burnt neither the *Minion*, nor the *Jesus*; the latter of which was taken by the Spaniards,

to have burnt the *Jesus* of Lubeck; which we prevented by cutting our cables in the hawse, and winding off by our sternfast. The *Minion* was forced to set sail and stand off from us, and come to an anchor without shot of the island.

Our General courageously cheered up his soldiers and gunners, and called to SAMUEL his page, for a cup of beer; who brought it to him in a silver cup: and he drinking to all the men, willed "the gunners to stand by their ordnance lustily like men!" He had no sooner set the cup out of his hand, but a demi-culverin shot struck away the cup and a cooper's plane that stood by the mainmast, and ran out on the other side of the ship; which nothing dismayed our General, for he ceased not to encourage us, saying, "Fear nothing! For GOD, who hath preserved me from this shot, will also deliver us from these traitors and villains!"

Then Captain BLAND [*apparently in command of the* Grace of God] meaning to have turned out of port, had his mainmast struck overboard with a chain-shot, that came from the shore: wherefore he anchored, fired his ship, took his pinnace with all his men, and came aboard the *Jesus* of Lubeck to our General; who said to him, "He thought he would not have run away from him!"

He answered, "He was not minded to have run away from him; but his intent [*i.e., previous to the loss of his mainmast*] was to have turned up, and to have laid the weathermost ship of the Spanish fleet aboard, and fired his ship in hope therewith to have set on fire the Spanish fleet."

He said, "If he had done so, he had done well!" With this night came on.

Our General [had] commanded the *Minion*, for safeguard of her masts, to be brought under the *Jesus* of Lubeck's lee.

He willed Master FRANCIS DRAKE to come in with the *Judith*, and to lay the *Minion* aboard, to take in men and other things needful; and to go out. And so he did. [*See p.* 101, *on* DRAKE's *alleged desertion of the* Minion. *His trying to get home by himself, crowded as the little* Judith *must have been, seems to have been the wisest thing he could do; though* HAWKINS, *no doubt, thought it very hard.*]

At night, when the wind came off the shore, we [*i.e., the*

in boats. His narrative is very important here as he was taken on board the *Jesus* and therefore an eye witness.

Minion] set sail, and went out in despite of the Spaniards and their shot; where [the next day] we anchored with two anchors under an island: the wind being northerly, which was wonderfully dangerous, and we feared every hour to be driven with the lee shore.

In the end, when the wind came larger, we weighed anchor and set sail, seeking the river of Panuco for water, whereof we had very little; and victuals were so scarce that we were driven to eat hides, cats, rats, parrots, monkeys, and dogs.

Wherefore our General was forced to divide his company into two parts: for there was a mutiny among them for want of victuals. And some said, "They had rather be on the shore to shift for themselves amongst the enemies, than to starve on shipboard."

He asked them, "Who would go on shore, and who would tarry on shipboard?" Those that would go on shore, he willed to go on fore mast; and those that would tarry, on 'baft mast. Fourscore and sixteen of us were willing to depart [*but* 114 *actually landed, see p.* 187]. Our General gave unto every one of us six yards of Roane [woollen] cloth; and money to them that demanded it.

When we were landed, he came unto us; where friendly embracing every one of us, he was greatly grieved that he was forced to leave us behind him. He counselled us "to serve GOD, and to love one another," and thus courteously he gave us a sorrowful farewell; and promised "if GOD sent him safe home, he would do what he could, that so many of us as lived, should, by some means, be brought into England." And so he did.

Since my return into England, I have heard that many misliked that he left us so behind him, and brought away [16] Negroes. But the reason is this. For them, he might have had victuals or any other thing needful, if, by foul weather, he had been driven upon the [West Indian] islands; which, for gold or silver, he could not have had.

And thus our General departed to his ship, and we remained on land. Where, for our safeties, fearing the wild Indians that were about us, we kept watch all night. At

sunrising, we marched on our way, three and three in a rank, until we came into a field under a grove; where the Indians came upon us, asking us, "What people we were? and how we came there?"

Two of our company, namely, ANTHONY GODDARD and JOHN CORNISH, for that they could speak the Spanish tongue, went to them, and said, "We were Englishmen, that never came in that country before: and that we had fought with the Spaniards: and for that we lacked victuals, our General had set us on shore."

They asked us, "Whither we intended to go?"

We said, "To Panuco."

The captain of the Indians willed us to give unto them some of our clothes and shirts.

Which we did.

Then he bade us give them all.

But we would not so do. Whereupon JOHN CORNISH was then slain with an arrow, which an Indian boy, that stood by the captain, shot at him; whereupon he [*the chief*] struck the boy on the neck with his bow that he lay for dead, and willed us to follow him.

Who brought us into a great field, where we found fresh water. He bade us sit down about the pond and drink; and he, with his company, would go, in the mean space, to kill five or six deer, and bring them us.

We tarried there till three o'clock, but they came not. There one of our company, whose name was JOHN COOKE, with four others, departed from us into a grove to seek relief; where presently they were taken by the Indians and stripped as naked as ever they were born; and so returned.

Then we divided ourselves into two parts; half to ANTHONY GODDARD, and the rest to JAMES COLLIER: and thus severally we sought for Panuco.

ANTHONY GODDARD, with his company, bade us farewell. They passed a river, where the Indians robbed many of them of their clothes; and so passing on their way, came to a stony hill where they stayed.

JAMES COLLIER with his company, that day, passed the same river, and were also robbed, and one of them slain by chance.

We came that night, unto the hill where ANTHONY

GODDARD and his company rested. There we remained till morning. Then we marched, all together, from thence, entering between two groves, where the Indians robbed us of all our clothes, and left us naked. They hurt many, and killed eight of us.

Three days after, we came to another river. There, the Indians showed us the way to Panuco, and so left us.

We passed the river into the wilderness, where we made wreaths of green grass; which we wound about our bodies to keep us from the sun and gnats [*mosquitoes*] of that country.

We travelled there seven days and seven nights before we came to Panuco, feed on nothing but roots and guavas, a fruit like figs.

At our coming to the river of Panuco, two Spanish horsemen came over unto us in a canoe.

They asked us, "How long we had been in the wilderness, and where our General was?" for they knew us to be of the company that had fought with their countrymen.

We told them, "Seven days and seven nights; and for lack of victuals, our General set us on shore: and he was gone away with his ships."

They returned to their Governor, who sent them with five canoes to bring us all over.

Which done, they set us in array; where a hundred horsemen with their lances came forcibly upon us; but they did not hurt us.

They carried us prisoners to Panuco [*or rather Tampico, the town near the river Panuco*], where we remained one night.

In the river of Panuco, there is a fish like a calf. The Spaniards call it a *Mallatin*. He hath a stone in his head, which the Indians use for the disease of the colick. In the night he cometh on land, and eateth grass. I have eaten of it, and it eateth not much unlike to bacon.

From thence, we were sent to Mexico, which is ninety leagues from Panuco.

In our way thither, twenty leagues from the seaside, I did see white crabs running up and down the sands. I have eaten of them, and they be very good meat.

There groweth a fruit which the Spaniards call *Avocottes*. It is proportioned like an egg, and as black as a coal, having a stone in it: and it is an excellent good fruit.

There also groweth a strange tree, which they call *Magueis* [Agave]. It serveth them to many uses. Below, by the root, they make a hole, whereat they do take out of it, twice every day, a certain kind of liquor, which they seeth in a great kettle till the third part of it be consumed, and that it wax thick. It is as sweet as any honey, and they do eat it. Within twenty days after that they have taken all the liquor from it, it withereth, and they cut it down and use it as we use our hemp here in England. Which done, they convert it to many uses. Of some part, they make mantles, ropes and thread; of the ends, they make needles to sew their saddles, panels [*cloths*], and other furniture for their horses; of the rest, they make tiles to cover their houses: and they put it to many other purposes.

And thus we came to Mexico, which is seven or eight miles [round] about, seated in a great fen, environed with four hills. It hath but two ways of entrance; and is full of creeks, in the which, in their canoes, they pass from place to place and to the islands there within.

In the Indies, ordinarily three times a year, be wonderful earthquakes, which put the people in great fear and danger. During the time of two years that I was in Mexico, I saw them six times. When they come, they throw down trees, houses, and churches.

There is a city, twenty-five leagues from Mexico, called Tlaxcallan, which is inhabited with a 100,000 Indians. They go in white shirts, linen breeches, and long mantles; and the women wear about them a garment much like unto a flannel petticoat.

The King's Palace was the first place that we were brought unto in Mexico; where, without [*on the outside of which*], we were willed to sit down.

Much people, men, women, and children, came wondering about us. Many lamented our misery.

Some of their clergy asked us, "If we were Christians?" We said, "We praised GOD, we were as good Christians as they!"

They asked, "How they might know that?"

We said, "By our confessions."

From thence, we were carried in a canoe to a tanner's house, which standeth a little from the city.

The next morning, two friars and two priests came thither to us, and willed us "to bless ourselves, and say our prayers in the Latin tongue, that they might understand us." Many of our company did so.

Whereupon, they returned to the Viceroy, and told him that "We were good Christians! and that they liked us well."

Then they brought us much relief, with clothes. Our sick men were sent to their hospitals; where many were cured, and many died.

From the tanner's house, we were led to a gentleman's place; where, upon pain of death, we were charged to abide, and not to come into the city. Thither, we had all things necessary brought us. On Sundays and holidays, much people came, and brought us great relief.

The Viceroy practised [*endeavoured*] to hang us, and caused a pair of new gallows to be set up, to have executed us; whereunto the noblemen of the country would not consent, but prayed him to stay until the Ship of Advice brought news from the King of Spain, what should be done with us: for they said, "They could not find anything by us, whereby they might lawfully put us to death."

The Viceroy then commanded us to be sent to an island thereby, and he sent for the Bishop of Mexico: who sent four priests to the island to examine and confess us; who said, "The Viceroy would [*wished to*] burn us."

When we were examined and confessed, according to the laws of the country; they returned to the Bishop, and told him that "We were very good Christians!" The Bishop certified the Viceroy of our examinations and confessions; and said that "We were good Christians! therefore he would not meddle with us."

Then the Viceroy sent for our Master [*i.e.*, *of the* Jesus], R. BARRET; whom he kept prisoner in his Palace until the Fleet was departed for Spain. The rest of us he sent to a town seven leagues from Mexico, called Tescuco, to card wool among the Indian slaves: which drudgery we disdained, and concluded to beat our masters; and so we did. Wherefore they sent to the Viceroy, desiring him "for GOD's sake

and our Lady's! to send for us; for they would not keep us any longer." They said that "We were devils, and no men."

The Viceroy sent for us, and imprisoned us in a house in Mexico. From thence, he sent ANTHONY GODDARD and some others of our company with him, into Spain; with LUÇON, the General [*i.e., Admiral*] that took us [*fought us at San Juan de Ulua*].

The rest of [*bulk of*] us [*i.e., the six men and the boy named on the next page. For the English captives that remained behind, see pp.* 202, 204-205, *etc.*] stayed in Mexico two years after; and then were sent prisoners into Spain, with Don JUAN DE VELASCO DE VARE, Admiral and General of the Spanish Fleet.

He carried with him, in his ship, to be presented to the King of Spain, the anatomy [*skeleton*] of a giant which was sent from China, to the Viceroy Don MARTIN HENRIQUEZ at Mexico, to be sent to the King of Spain. It did appear by the anatomy, that he was of a monstrous size. The skull of his head was near[ly] as big as half a bushel. His neck bones, shoulder plates, arm bones, and all other lineaments of his other parts were huge and monstrous to behold. The shank of his leg, from the ankle to the knee, was as long as from any man's ankle up to his waist; and of bigness accordingly.

At this time, and in this ship, were also sent two chests full of earth with ginger growing in them; which were also sent from China, to be sent to the King of Spain. The ginger runneth in the ground like liquorice. The blades grow out of it in length and proportion like unto the blades of wild garlic; which they cut every fifteen days. They use [*are accustomed*] to water them twice a day, as we do our herbs here in England.

They put the blades in their pottage, and use them in their other meats; whose excellent savour and taste is very delightful, and procureth a good appetite.

When [in 1570] we were shipped in the Port of San Juan de Ulua, the General called our Master, ROBERT BARRET, and us with him, into his cabin, and asked us, "If we would fight against Englishmen, if we met them at the sea?"

We said, "We would not fight against our Crown; but if we met with any others, we would do what we were able."

He said, "If we had said otherwise, he would not have

believed us! and for that, we should be the better used, and have allowance as other men had." And he gave a charge to every one of us, according unto our knowledge. ROBERT BARRET was placed with the Pilot; I was put in the Gunner's room [*i.e., in the office of a Gunner*]; WILLIAM CAWSE with the Boatswain, JOHN BEARE with the Quarter Masters, EDWARD RIDER and GEOFFREY GILES with the ordinary Mariners, RICHARD the Master's boy, attended on him and the Pilot.

Shortly after, we departed from the port of San Juan de Ulua, with all the Fleet of Spain, for the port called Havana. We were twenty-six days sailing thither.

There we came in, anchored, took in fresh water, and stayed sixteen days for the Fleet of Nombre de Dios; which is the Fleet that brings the treasure from Peru. The General [*Admiral*] of that Fleet was called DIEGO FLORES DE VALDEZ.

After his coming, when he had watered his ships, both the Fleets joined in one: and Don JUAN DE VELASCO DE VARRE was, for the first fifteen days, General of both the Fleets.

Turning through the Channel of Bahama, his Pilot had like to have cast away all the Fleet upon the Cape, called Canaveral [*on the West coast of Florida*]: which was prevented by me, JOB HORTOP, and our Master, ROBERT BARRET.

For I, being in the second watch, escried land; and called to ROBERT BARRET, bidding him "to look overboard! for I saw land under the lee bow of the ship." He called to the Boatswain, and bid him let fly the foresail sheet, and lay the helm upon the lee, and cast the ship about.

When we were cast about, we were but in seven fathom water. We shot off a piece, giving advice to the Fleet to cast about [*tack*]: and so they did.

For this, we were beloved of the General, and all the Fleet. The General was in a great rage, and swore, by the King! that he would hang his Pilot. For he said that "twice before, he had almost cast away the admiral [*flagship*]."

When it was day, he commanded a piece to be shot off, to call to Council. The other Admiral in his ship came up to him, and asked, "What the matter was?"

He said, "His Pilot had cast away his ship and all the

Fleet, had it not been for two of the Englishmen; and therefore he would hang him!"

The other Admiral, with many fair words, persuaded him to the contrary.

When we came in the height [*latitude*] of Bermuda, we discovered a monster in the sea, who shewed himself three times unto us, from the middle upwards; in which parts he was proportioned like a man, of the complexion of a Mulatto or tawny Indian. The General did command one of his clerks to put it in writing; and he certified the King and his nobles thereof.

Presently after this, for the space of sixteen days, we had wonderful[ly] foul weather: and then GOD sent us a fair wind, until such time, as we discovered the island called Fayal.

On St. James's day (*25th July*), we made rockets, wheels, and other fireworks, to make pastime that night, as it is the order of the Spaniards.

When we came near the land, our Master, ROBERT BARRET, conferred with us to take the pinnace one night, when we came near the island called Terceira, to free ourselves from the danger and bondage that we were going into: whereunto we agreed. None had any pinnace astern then, but our ship; which gave great courage to our enterprise. We prepared a bag of bread and a *botijo* [jar] of water, which would have served us nine days: and provided ourselves to go.

Our Master borrowed a small compass of the Master Gunner of the ship, who lent it him; but suspected his intent, and closely [*secretly*] made the General privy to it: who, for a time, dissembled the matter.

In the end, seeing our pretense [*design*]; he called ROBERT BARRET, commanding his head to be put in the stocks, and a great pair of iron bolts on his legs: and the rest of us to be put in the stocks by the legs.

Then he willed a piece to be shot off and he sent the pinnace for the other Admiral and all the Captains, Masters, and Pilots of both Fleets to come aboard of him. He commanded the mainyard to be struck down; and to put two pullies, on every yard arm one. The hangman was called,

and we were willed to confess ourselves: for he swore, "by the King! that he would hang us."

When the other Admiral and the rest were come aboard, he called them into his Council chamber; and told them that "he would hang the Master of the Englishmen and all his company."

The Admiral, whose name was DIEGO FLORES DE VALDEZ, asked him, "Wherefore?"

He said, "We had determined to rise in the night with the pinnace, and with a ball of fire work, to set the ship on fire, and go our ways. Therefore," said he, "I will have you, the Captains, Masters, and Pilots to set your hands unto that: for I swear, by the King! that I will hang them!"

DIEGO FLORES DE VALDEZ answered, "Neither I, nor the Captains, Masters, and Pilots will set our hands to that!" for, he said, if he had been prisoner as we were, he would have done the like himself. He counselled him to keep us fast in prison till he came into Spain; and then send us to the Contrataction House in Seville: where, if we had deserved death, the law would pass on us. For he would not have it said that in such a Fleet as that was, six men and a boy should take the pinnace, and go away.

And so he returned to his ship again.

When he was gone, the General came to the mainmast to us, and swore, "by the King! that we should not come out of the stocks till we came into Spain."

Within sixteen days after [*i.e.*, *in August*, 1570], we came over the bars of San Lucar de Barrameda; and came up to the Hurcados. Then he put us into a pinnace, [still] in the stocks; and sent us prisoners to the Contrataction House in Seville.

From thence, after one year [*i.e.*, *in* 1571], we brake prison; on St. Stephen's day [26 *December*, 1571], at night. Seven of our [then English] company escaped.

ROBERT BARRET, I, JOB HORTOP, JOHN EMERIE, HUMPHRY ROBERTS, and JOHN GILBERT were taken, and brought back to the Contrataction House; where we remained in the stocks till Twelftide [6 *January*, 1572] was passed. Then our Keeper put up a petition to the Judge of the Contrataction House, that we "might be sent to the Great Prison House in Seville; for that we had broken prison!"

Whereupon we were presently led thither, where we remained one month [*till February*, 1572]; and then, from thence to the Castle of the Inquisition House in Triana, where we continued one year [*till about February*, 1573].

Which expired, they brought us out in procession, every one of us having a candle in his hand, and a coat with St. Andrew's Cross on our backs.

They brought us up on a high scaffold, that was set up in the Place of St. Francis, which is in the chief street of Seville. There, they set us down on benches, every one in his degree: and against us, on another scaffold, sat all the Judges and the Clergy on their benches.

The people wondered, and gazed on us: some pitying our cases; others said, "Burn those heretics!"

When we had sat there two hours, we had a sermon made to us.

After which, one, called BRESINIA, Secretary to the Inquisition, went up into the pulpit, with the process: and called ROBERT BARRET and JOHN GILBERT, whom two familiars of the Inquisition brought from the scaffold before the Judges; where the Secretary read the sentence, "which was that they should be burnt!" And so they were returned to the scaffold, and were burnt.

Then I, JOB HORTOP, and JOHN BONE were called, and brought to the place, as before: where we heard our sentence, which was that we should go to the galleys and there row at the oar's end, ten years: and then to be brought back to the Inquisition House, to have the coat with St. Andrew's Cross put on our backs; and from thence, to go to the everlasting prison remediless. And so we were returned to the scaffold, from whence we came.

THOMAS MARKS and THOMAS ELLIS were called, and had sentence to serve in the galleys eight years; and HUMPHRY ROBERTS and JOHN EMERIE, to serve five years: and so were returned to the benches on the scaffold, where we sat till four o'clock in the afternoon.

Then we were led again to the Inquisition House, from whence we were brought.

The next day, in the morning, BRESINIA the Treasurer came thither to us; and delivered to every one of us his sentence in writing.

I, with the rest, were sent to the galleys, where we were chained four and four together. Every man's daily allowance was twenty-six ounces of coarse black biscuit and water. Our clothing for the whole year, two shirts, two pair of breeches of coarse canvas, a red coat of coarse cloth soon on and soon off, and a gown of hair with a friar's hood. Our lodging was on the bare boards and banks of the galleys. Our heads and beards were shaven every month.

Hunger, thirst, cold, and stripes, we lacked none! till our several times expired.

After the time of twelve years [1573–1585] (for I served two years above my sentence) I was sent back to the Inquisition House in Seville: and there, having put on the coat with St. Andrew's Cross, I was sent to the everlasting prison remediless; where I wore the coat four years [1585–1589].

Then, upon great suit, I had it taken off for 50 ducats (=£13 15*s.*=*about* £80 *now*); which HERNANDO DE SORIA, Treasurer of the King's Mint, lent me.

Whom I [engaged to serve] as a drudge seven years, and served for it until the month of October last, 1590. [*HORTOP, however, only served a short two years,* 1589–1590.]

Then, I came from Seville to San Lucar de Barameda: where I made means to come away in a Flyboat that was ladened with wines and salt, which were Fleming's goods; the King of Spain's subjects dwelling in Seville, married to Spanish women, and sworn to their King.

In this month of October last, departing from San Lucar, at sea, off the southernmost Cape [*C., St. Vincent*], we met an English ship called the Galleon *Dudley*; which took the Fleming, and me out of it: and brought me to Portsmouth, where they set me on land, the 2nd day of December last past, 1590.

From thence, I was sent by Master MUNS, the Lieutenant of Portsmouth, with letters to the Right Honourable the Earl of SUSSEX; who commanded his Secretary to take my name and examination, how long I had been out of England, and with whom I went; which he did.

And on Christmas Even [24 *December*, 1590], I took my leave of his Honour, and came to Redriffe [*Ratcliffe*].

The Computation of my Imprisonment.

I suffered imprisonment in Mexico, two years [1568–1570]; in the Contrataction House in Seville, one year [1571]; in the Inquisition House, in Triana, one year [1572].

I was in the galleys, twelve years [1573–1585]; in the everlasting prison remediless, with the coat with St. Andrew's Cross, on my back, four years [1585–1589].

And, at liberty, I served as a drudge, HERNANDO DE SORIA, three years [1589–1590].

Which is the full complement of twenty-three years.*

Since my departure from England, until this time of my return; I was five times in great danger of death, besides the many perils I was in, in the galleys.

First, in the port of San Juan de Ulua; where I was on shore [*i.e., on the little island*] with many others of our company: which were all slain, saving I and two others, that by swimming got aboard the *Jesus* of Lubeck.

Secondly, when we were robbed by the wild Indians.

Thirdly, after we came to Mexico, the Viceroy would have hanged us.

Fourthly, because he could not have his mind to hang us; he would have burnt us.

Fifthly, the General that brought us into Spain, would have hanged us at sea.

Thus having truly set down unto you, my travels, misery and dangers endured the space of twenty-three years, I end.

* The exact time from the landing near Tampico, on 8th October, 1568, to HORTOP's landing at Portsmouth, on 2nd December, 1590, was a little over Twenty-two years.

THOMAS SANDERS.

The unfortunate Voyage of the Jesus *to Tripoli, in* 1584.

[This Narrative was entered at Stationers' Hall on 31st of March 1587 (*Transcript, &c.*, ii. 467. *Ed.* 1875) as a distinct publication under the title of *A most lamentable Voyage made into Turkey, &c.*; reprint in HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*, 1589.]

The voyage made to Tripoli in Barbary, in the year 1584, with a ship called the *Jesus*; wherein the adventures and distresses of some Englishmen are truly reported, and other necessary circumstances observed.

HIS voyage was set forth [*chartered*] by the right worshipful Sir EDWARD OSBORNE, Knight, Chief Merchant of all the "Turkey Company," and one Master RICHARD STAPERS; the ship being of the burden of 100 tons, called the *Jesus*. She was built at Farmne [? *Fareham*], a river by Portsmouth. The owners were Master THOMAS THOMSON, NICHOLAS CARNABIE, and JOHN GILMAN, The Master (under GOD) was one *Z*ACCHEUS HELLIER of Blackwall, and his Mate was one RICHARD MORRIS of that place. Their Pilot was one ANTHONY JERADO, a Frenchman of the province of Marseilles. The Purser was one WILLIAM THOMSON, our owner's son. The Merchants' Factors [*supercargoes*] were ROMAINE SONNINGS a Frenchman, and RICHARD SKEGS servant unto the said Master STAPERS.

The owners were bound unto the merchants by charterparty thereupon, in 1000 marks [=£333, *or in present value about* £2000], that the said ship, by GOD's permission, should go for Tripoli in Barbary: that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhaven [*Hâvre*] in Normandy; from thence to San Lucar de Barrameda in Andalusia; and from thence to Tripoli, which is in the east part of [the northern shore of] Africa; and so to return unto London.

But here ought every man to note and consider the works of our GOD; that, many times, what man doth determine, GOD doth disappoint. The said Master having some occasion to go to Farmne, took with him the Pilot and the Purser; and returning again, by means of a perry [*gust*] of wind the boat, wherein they were, was drowned with the said Master, Purser, and all the company; excepting the said Pilot, who by experience in swimming saved himself. These were the beginnings of our sorrows.

After which, the said Master's Mate would not proceed in that voyage; and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingness of the Master's Mate, did send down one RICHARD DEIMOND, and shipped him for Master; who did choose for his Mate one ANDREW DIER, and so the said ship

departed on her voyage accordingly. That is to say, about the 16th of October 1583, she made sail from Portsmouth, and the 18th day then next following, she arrived in Newhaven [*Hâvre*] ; where our said last Master, DEIMOND, by a surfeit, died.

The Factors then appointed the said ANDREW DIER, being then Master's Mate, to be their Master for that voyage ; who did choose to be his Mates, the two Quarter Masters of the same ship, to wit, PETER AUSTIN and SHILLAREY, and for Purser was shipped one RICHARD BURGES.

Afterwards, about the 8th day of November, we made sail forward, and by force of weather we were driven back again into Portsmouth ; where we refreshed ourselves with victuals and other necessaries : and then the wind came fair.

About the 29th day then next following, we departed thence ; and the 1st day of December, by means of a contrary wind, we were driven into Plymouth.

The 18th day then next following, we made southward again, and by force of weather we were driven into Falmouth ; where we remained until the 1st day of January [1584]. At which time the wind coming fair, we departed thence ; and about the 20th day of the said month we arrived safely at San Lucar.

About the 9th day of March next following, we made sail from thence ; and about the 18th day of the same month, we came to Tripoli in Barbary : where we were very well entertained by the King of that country, and also of the commons [*people*].

The commodity of that place is sweet oils. The King there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to prefer himself before his commons) requested our said Factors to traffic with him ; and promised them that if they should take his oils at his own price, they should pay no manner of custom [*export duty*] : and they took of him certain tuns of oils. Afterward perceiving that they might have far better cheap notwithstanding the free custom, they desired the King to licence them to take the oils at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceed theirs: whereunto the King would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, insomuch that the Factors bought all their oils of the King, custom free, and so laded the same aboard.

In the mean time there came to that place, one MILES DICKENSON, in a ship of Bristol; who, together with our said Factors, took a house to themselves there. Our French Factor, ROMAINE SONNINGS desired to buy a commodity in the market; and wanting money, desired the said MILES DICKENSON to lend him an hundred chikinos [*shekins*] until he came to his lodging: which he did. Afterwards the same SONNINGS met with MILES DICKENSON in the street, and delivered him money bound up in a napkin, saying, "Master DICKENSON, there is the money I borrowed of you!" and so thanked him for the same. He doubted nothing less than falsehood, which is seldom known among merchants, and specially being together in one house; and is the more detestable between Christians, they being in Turkey among the heathen.

The said DICKENSON did not tell [*count*] the money presently [*immediately*], until he came to his lodging; and then finding nine chikinos lacking of his hundred, which was about £3 (=£20 *in present value*), for that every chikino is worth seven shillings of English money; he came to the said ROMAINE SONNINGS, and delivered him his handkerchief, and asked him, "How many chikinos he had delivered him?" SONNINGS answered, "An hundred." DICKENSON said, "No!" And so they protested, and swore on both parts. But in the end, the said ROMAINE SONNINGS did swear deeply, with detestable oaths and curses; and prayed GOD that He might show His works on him that others might take example thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dog, and never come into England again; if he did not deliver into the said DICKENSON a hundred chikinos.

And here, behold a notable example for all blasphemers, cursers, and swearers! how GOD rewarded him accordingly. For many times it cometh to pass that GOD showeth His miracles upon such monstrous blasphemers, to the example of others; as now hereafter you shall hear what befel to this ROMAINE SONNINGS.

There was a man in the said town, a pledge; whose name was Patrone NORADO; who, the year before, had done this SONNINGS some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone

NORADO was indebted unto a Turk of that town in the sum of 450 crowns (=*about* £130, *or in present value about* £1,000) for certain goods sent by him into Christendom in a ship of his own, and by his own brother; and he himself remained in Tripoli as a pledge until his said brother's return: and, as the report went there, after his brother's arrival in Christendom, he came among lewd company, and lost his brother's said ship and goods at dice; and never returned unto him again.

The said Patrone NORADO—being void of all hope, and finding now opportunity—consulted with the said SONNINGS for to swim a seaboard the islands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed); and so to go to Toulon, in the Province of Marseilles, with this Patrone NORADO, and there to take in the rest of his lading.

The ship being ready the 1st day of May [1584], and having her sails all aboard; our said Factors took their leave of the King, who very courteously bade them farewell: and when they came aboard, they commanded the Master and the company hastily to get out the ship. The Master answered that it was impossible, for that the wind was contrary and overblowed: and he required us upon forfeiture of our bonds, that we should do our endeavour to get her forth. Then went we to warp out the ship. Presently [*immediately*] the King sent a boat aboard of us, with three men in her, commanding the said SONNINGS to come ashore. At whose coming, the King demanded of him custom for the oils. SONNINGS answered him, "that His Highness had promised to deliver them custom free!" But notwithstanding, the King weighed not his said promise, and—as an infidel that had not the fear of GOD before his eyes; nor regard for his word, albeit he was a King—he caused the said SONNINGS to pay the custom to the uttermost penny: and afterwards willed him to make haste away, saying, "that the Janissaries would have the oil ashore again."

These Janissaries are soldiers there, under the Great Turk; and their power is above the King's.

So the said Factor departed from the King, and came to the water side, and called for a boat to come aboard. He brought with him the foresaid Patrone NORADO. The company inquisitive to know what man that was, SONNINGS answered,

that he was his countryman, as passenger. "I pray GOD," said the company, "that we come not into trouble by this man." Then said SONNINGS angrily, "What have you to do with any matters of mine? If anything chance otherwise than well, I must answer for all."

Now the Turk unto whom the Patrone NORADO was indebted, missing him, supposed him to be aboard of our ship; presently went unto the King, and told him "that he thought his pledge Patrone NORADO was aboard the English ship:" whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboard of us, with three men in her, commanding the said SONNINGS to come ashore, and not speaking anything as touching the man. He said, "He would come presently in his own boat." But as soon as they were gone, he willed us to warp forth the ship; and said that "he would see the knaves hanged, before he would go ashore."

And when the King saw that he came not ashore, but still continued warping away the ship, he straight commanded the gunner of the bulwark to fire three shoots [*rounds*] without ball.

Then we came all to the said SONNINGS, and asked of him, "What was the matter that we were shot at?" He said that "it was the Janissaries, who would have the oil ashore again," and willed us to make haste away.

After that the King had discharged three shots without ball, he commanded the gunners in the town to do their endeavour to sink us: but the Turkish gunners could not once strike us. Wherefore the King sent presently to the *bagnio*—this *bagnio* is the prison where all the captives lay at night—and promised that if there were any that could either sink us or else cause us to come in again, he should have a hundred crowns (=£30, *or in present value over* £200) and his liberty. With that, came forth a Spaniard called SEBASTIAN, who had been an old servitor in Flanders; and he said, that "upon the performance of that promise, he would undertake either to sink us or to cause us to come in again; and thereto he would gage his life." At the first shot, he split our rudder's head in pieces; the second shot, he strake us under water; and with the third shot, he shot us through the foremast with a culvering shot. Thus he having rent both our rudder and mast, and shot us under water, we were enforced to go in again.

This SEBASTIAN, for all his diligence herein, had neither his liberty, nor a hundred crowns, so promised by the King; but after his service done, was committed again to prison. Whereby may appear the regard that a Turk or infidel hath of his word, although he be able to perform it: yea more, though he be a King.

Then our Merchants [*i.e.*, *Factors*] seeing no remedy; they together with five of our company went ashore. Then they ceased shooting. They shot unto us in the whole, nine and thirty shots; without the hurt of any man.

And when our Merchants came ashore, the King commanded presently that they, with the rest of our company that were with them, should be chained four and four to an hundredweight of iron. When we came in with the ship, there came presently above a hundred Turks aboard of us. They searched us, and stript our very clothes from our backs, brake open our chests, and made a spoil of all that we had.

The Christian caitiffs [*renegadoes*] likewise that came aboard us made spoil of our goods, and used us as ill as the Turks did.

And our Master's Mate having a "Geneva *Bible*" in his hand; there came the King's Chief Gunner, and took it from him. The Master's Mate showed me of it, and I, having the language, went to the King's Treasurer; and told him of it, saying, "that since it was the will of GOD that we should fall into their hands; yet that they should grant us to use our consciences to our own discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to use theirs." He granted it us. Then I told him that "the Master Gunner had taken away a *Bible* from one of our men." The Treasurer went presently, and commanded him to deliver up the *Bible* again: which he did.

But within a little while after, he took it from the man again; and I showed the Treasurer of it, and he commanded him to deliver it again, saying, "Thou villain! wilt thou turn to Christianity again?" For he was *renegado;* which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards became a Turk. So he delivered me the *Bible* a second time.

And then I having it in my hand, the Gunner came to me, and spake these words, saying, "Thou dog! I will have the book in despite of thee:" and took it from me, saying, "If

thou tell the King's Treasurer of it any more, by Mahomet! I will be revenged of thee!" Notwithstanding, I went the third time unto the King's Treasurer, and told him of it. He came with me, saying thus unto the Gunner, "By the head of the Great Turk, if thou take it from him again; thou shalt have an hundred bastinados!" Forthwith he delivered me the book, saying, "He had not the value of a pin of the spoil of the ship!" which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall hear. For there was none, whether Christian or Turk, that took the value of a pennyworth of our goods from us, but perished both body and goods within seventeen months following; as hereafter shall plainly appear.

Then came the Guardian Pasha, which is the Keeper of the King's captives, to fetch us all ashore. Then I, remembering the miserable estate of the poor distressed captives in the time of their bondage to those infidels, went to mine own chest, and took out thereof a jar of oil and filled a basket full of white rusk to carry ashore with me; but before I came to the *bagnio*, the Turkish boys had taken away almost all my bread; and the Keeper said, "Deliver me the jar of oil, and and when thou comest to the *bagnio*, thou shalt have it again!" but I never had it of him any more.

But when I came to the *bagnio*, and saw our Merchants and all the rest of our company in chains; and we all ready to receive the same reward: whose heart in the world is there so hard, but would have pitied our course? hearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt us.

All this happened the 1st of May 1584.

And the 2nd day of the same month, the King with his Council [*Divan*] sate in judgement upon us. The first that were had forth to be arraigned were the Factors and the Master. The King asked them, "Wherefore came they not ashore when he sent for them?" ROMAINE SONNINGS answered, that "though he were King on shore, and might command there; so was he as touching those that were under him," and therefore said, "if there be any offence, the fault is wholly in myself, and in no other." Then forthwith the King gave judgement that the said ROMAINE SONNINGS should be hanged over the north-east bulwark [*rampart*], from whence he conveyed the forenamed Patrone NORADO.

Then he called for our Master, ANDREW DIER, and used few words to him; and so condemned him to be hanged over the walls of the westermost bulwark. Then fell our other Factor, named RICHARD SKEGS, upon his knees before the King, and said, "I beseech your Highness either to pardon our Master, or else suffer me to die for him. For he is ignorant of this cause." Then the people of that country favouring the said RICHARD SKEGS, besought the King to pardon them both. Then the King spake these words, "Behold, for thy sake, I pardon the Master!" Then presently the Turks shouted, and cried, saying, "Away with the Master from the presence of the King!" Then he came into the *bagnio* where we were, and told us what had happened: and we all rejoiced at the good hap of Master SKEGS; that he was saved, and our Master for his sake.

But afterwards our joy was turned to double sorrow, for in the mean time the King's mind was altered, for that one of his Council had advised him that unless the Master died also, by the law they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, nor captive [*enslave*] any of the men. Whereupon the King sent for our Master again, and gave him another judgement, after his pardon for one cause; which was that he should be hanged.

Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidel's promise; who, being a King, pardoned a man now, as you have heard, and within an hour after hanged him for the same cause before a whole multitude: and also promised our Factors their oils custom free, and at their going away made them pay the uttermost penny for the custom thereof.

When that ROMAINE SONNINGS saw no remedy but that he should die; he protested to turn Turk, hoping thereby to have saved his life. Then said the Turk, "If thou wilt turn Turk, speak the words that thereunto belong!" And he did so. Then said they unto him, "Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turk!" And so he did, as the Turks reported that were at his execution.

The forenamed Patrone NORADO, whereas before he had liberty, and did nothing; he was then condemned to be a slave perpetually; unless there were payment made of the foresaid money.

Then the King condemned us all—who were in number six and twenty; of the which two were hanged, as you have heard, and one died the first day we came on shore by the visitation of Almighty GOD—the other three and twenty he condemned to be slaves perpetually unto the Great Turk; and the ship and goods were confiscated to the use of the Great Turk.

Then we all fell down upon our knees, giving GOD thanks for this sorrowful visitation, and giving ourselves wholly to the almighty power of GOD; unto whom all secrets are known, that He of His goodness would vouchsafe to look upon us.

Here, may all true Christian hearts see the wonderful works of GOD showed upon such infidels, blasphemers, and runnagate Christians! and so you shall read in the end of this book [*narrative*], of the like upon the unfaithful King and all his children, and upon as many as took any portion of the said goods.

But first to show our miserable bondage and slavery, and unto what small pittance we were tied. Every five men had allowance of but five Aspers of bread in a day, which are but two pence English: and our lodging was to lie on the bare boards, with a very simple cape to cover us. We were also forcibly and most violently shaven, head and beard.

Within three days after [*on 5th May* 1584], I and six more of my fellows together with four score Italians and Spaniards, were sent forth in a galliot to take a Greek Carmosel, which came into Arabia [?] to steal negroes; and went out of Tripoli unto that place, which was 240 leagues thence. We were chained three and three to an oar, and we rowed naked above the girdle. The Boatswain of the galley walked abaft the mast, and his Mate afore the mast; and each of them with a thong in their hands. When their devilish choler rose, they would strike the Christians for no cause. They allowed us but half a pound of bread a man in a day, without any other kind of sustenance, water excepted.

And when we came to the place where we saw the Carmosel, we were not suffered to have either needle, bodkin, knife, or any other instrument about us; nor at any other time in the night, upon pain of one hundred bastinados. We were then

also cruelly manacled in such sort that we could not put our hands the length of one foot asunder the one from the other: and every night, they searched our chains three times, to see if they were fast rivetted.

We continued fight with the Carmosel three hours, and then we took it. We lost but two men in that fight, but there were slain of the Greeks, five; and fourteen were cruelly hurt. They that were sound were presently made slaves, and chained to the oars: and within fifteen days after we returned again to Tripoli; and then we were put to all manner of slavery.

I was put to hew stones, others to carry stones, some to draw the cart with earth, some to make mortar, and some to draw stones: for at that time the Turks builded a church [*mosque*]. Thus we were put to all kind of slavery that was to be done.

In the time of our being there, the Moors that are the husbandmen of the country, rebelled against the King, because he would have constrained them to pay greater tribute than heretofore they had done: so that the soldiers of Tripoli marched forth from the town to have joined battle against the Moors for their rebellion. The King sent with them four pieces of ordnance; which were drawn by the captives twenty miles into the country after them. At the sight thereof, the Moors fled: and then the captives returned back again.

Then I and certain Christians more were sent twelve miles into the country, with a cart to load timber; and we returned the same day.

Now the King had eighteen captives which three times a week went to fetch wood thirty miles from the town; and on a time he appointed me for one of the eighteen. We departed at eight o'clock in the night, and upon the way as we rode upon the camels, I demanded of one of our company, who did direct us the way? He said, there was a Moor in our company which was our guide. I demanded of them how Tripoli and the wood bare one off the other? He said, "East-north-east, and west-south-west."

At midnight or thereabouts, as I was riding on my camel, I fell asleep; and the guide and all the rest rode away from

me, not thinking but that I had been among them. When I awoke, finding myself alone, I durst not call nor halloa, for fear lest the wild Moors should hear me; because they hold this opinion that in killing a Christian they do GOD good service. Musing with myself what were best for me to do. if I should go forth and the wild Moors should hap to meet with me, they would kill me; and on the other side, if I should return back to Tripoli without any wood or company, I should be most miserably used therefore: of the two evils, rather did I go forth to the losing of my life, than to turn back and trust to their mercy, fearing to be used as before I had seen others. Understanding before by some of my company how Tripoli and the said wood did lie one off another, by the north star I went forth at adventure; and, as GOD would have it, I came right to the place where they were, even about an hour before day. There all together we rested, and gave our camels provender; and as soon as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood. I seeing no wood here, but a stick here and a stick there, about the bigness of a man's arm, growing in the sand; it caused me to marvel how so many camels should be laden in that place. The wood was Juniper. We needed no axe nor edge tool to cut it, but pluckt it up by strength of hands, roots and all; which a man might easily do: and so gathered it together a little at one place, and so at another; and laded our camels, and came home about seven o'clock that night following. And because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

There was in Tripoli, at that time, a Venetian whose name was BENEDETTO *Venetiano*, and seventeen captives more of his company; who ran away from Tripoli in a boat, and came in sight of an island called Malta, which lieth forty leagues right north from Tripoli. Being within a mile of the shore, and with very fair weather, one of their company said, *In dispetto de DIO adesso venio a pilliar terra*; which is as much as to say, "In the despite of GOD, I shall now fetch the shore:" and presently there arose a mighty storm with thunder and rain, and the wind at north. Their boat being very small, there were enforced to bear up room, and to shear right afore the wind over against the coast of Barbary from whence they came; and rowing up and down

the coast, their victuals being spent, the twenty-first day after their departure they were enforced through want of food to come ashore, thinking to have stolen some sheep. But the Moors of the country, perceiving their intent, very craftily gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselves behind a sandy hill; and when the Christians were come all ashore, and had passed up half a mile into the country; the Moors rode betwixt them and their boat, and some of them pursued the Christians. So they were all taken and brought to Tripoli, from whence they had before escaped. Presently the King commanded that the foresaid BENEDETTO with one more of his company should lose their ears, and the rest to be most cruelly beaten; which was presently done.

This King had a son, who was a ruler in an island called Jerbah, whereunto arrived an English ship called the *Green Dragon*, of the which was Master one Master BLONKET: who had a very unhappy boy in that ship; and understanding that whosoever would turn Turk should be well entertained of the King's son, this boy did run ashore, and voluntarily turned Turk.

Shortly after [*May* 1584], the King's son came to Tripoli to visit his father; and seeing our company, he greatly fancied RICHARD BURGES our Purser, and JAMES SMITH. They were both young men. Therefore he was very desirous to have them to turn Turks: but they would not yield to his desire, saying, "We are your father's slaves; and as slaves, we will serve him." Then his father the King sent for them, and asked them if they would turn Turk? They said, "If it please your Highness, Christians we were born, and so we will remain;" and beseeched the King that they might not be enforced thereunto. The King had there before, in his house, a son of a Yeoman of our Queen's Guard; whom the King's son had enforced to turn Turk. His name was JOHN NELSON. Him, the King caused to be brought to these young men, and then said unto them, "Will you not bear this your countryman company, and be Turk as he is?" And they said, "They would not yield thereunto during life."

But it fell out, that within a month after, the King's son went home to Jerbah again, being six score miles from

Tripoli; and carried our two foresaid young men with him, which were RICHARD BURGES and JAMES SMITH. After their departure from us, they sent us a letter signifying that there was no violence showed to them as yet. But within three days after, they were violently used: for that the King's son demanded of them again, "If that they would turn Turk?" Then answered RICHARD BURGES, "A Christian I am, and so will I remain." Then the King's son very angrily said unto him, "By Mahomet! thou shalt presently [*instantly*] be made Turk!" Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turk; and they did so, and circumcised him: and would have had him speak the words that thereunto belonged; but he answered them stoutly that he would not, and although they had put on him the habit of a Turk; "Yet," said he, "a Christian I was born, and so I will remain; though you force me to do otherwise." And then he called for the other, and commanded him to be made Turk perforce also; but he was very strong, for it was as much as eight of the King's son's men could do to hold him; so in the end they circumcised him, and made him Turk.

Now to pass over a little, and so to show the manner of our deliverance out of that miserable captivity.

In May [1584] aforesaid, shortly after our apprehension, I wrote a letter into England unto my father dwelling at Eavistoke [*Tavistock*] in Devonshire, signifying unto him the whole state of our calamities; and I wrote also to Constantinople to the English Ambassador: both of which letters were faithfully delivered.

But when my father had received my letter, and understood the truth of our mishap and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offendors; he certified the Right Honourable the Earl of BEDFORD thereof, who, in short space, acquainted Her Highness with the whole cause thereof: and Her Majesty, like a merciful Princess tendering her subjects, presently took order for our deliverance.

Whereupon the right worshipful Sir EDWARD OSBORNE, Knight, directed his letters [*5th of September* 1584] with all speed to the English Ambassador in Constantinople to procure

our delivery. He obtained the Great Turk's Commission [*October* 1584], and sent it forthwith [*January* 1585] to Tripoli by one Master EDWARD BARTON [*his Secretary*], together with [MAHOMET Beg] a Justice of the Great Turk's, one soldier, another Turk; and a Greek who was his Interpreter, and could speak Greek, Turkish, Italian, Spanish, and English.

When they came to Tripoli, they were well entertained; and the first night, they did lie in a captain's house in the town. All our company that were in Tripoli came that night for joy, to Master BARTON and the other Commissioners to see them. Then Master BARTON said unto us, "Welcome, my good countrymen!" and lovingly entertained us; and at our departure from him, he gave us two shillings, and said, "Serve God! for to-morrow I hope you shall be as free as ever you were." We all gave him thanks, and so departed.

The next day in the morning, very early, the King having intelligence of their coming, sent word to the Keeper that "none of the Englishmen," meaning our company, "should go to work."

Then he sent for Master BARTON and the other Commissioners, and demanded of the said Master BARTON his message. The Justice answered that "the Great Turk my Sovereign had sent them unto him, signifying that he was informed that a certain English ship called the *Jesus* was by him, the said King, confiscated about twelve months since; and now my said Sovereign hath here sent his especial Commission by us unto you for the deliverance of the said ship and goods; and also the free liberty and deliverance of the Englishmen of the said ship, whom you have taken and kept in captivity." And further the same Justice said, "I am authorised by my said Sovereign the Great Turk to see it done; and therefore I command you by virtue of this Commission presently to make restitution of the premises or the value thereof." So did the Justice deliver unto the King, the Great Turk's Commission to the effect aforesaid; which Commission the King with all obedience perused.

After the perusing of the same, he forthwith commanded all the English captives to be brought before him; and then willed the Keeper to strike off all our irons. Which done, the King said, "You Englishmen! for that you did offend the

laws of this place: by the same laws therefore, some of your company were condemned to die, as you know; and you to be perpetual captives during your lives. Notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my Sovereign Lord the Great Turk to pardon your said offences, and to give you your freedom and liberty; behold, here I make delivery of you to this English gentleman!" So he delivered us all that were there, being thirteen [*or rather* eleven] in number, to Master BARTON: who required also those two young men which the King's son had taken with him. Then the King answered that "it was against their law to deliver them, for that they had turned Turks." And touching the ship and goods, the King said that "he had sold her; but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came unto his hands." So the King arose, and went to dinner; and commanded a Jew to go with Master BARTON and the other Commissioners to show them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said King. And because I had [*knew*] the Italian and Spanish tongues, by which most of their traffic in that country is; Master BARTON made me his cater [*caterer*] to buy his victuals for him and his company, and delivered me money needful for the same. Thus were we set at liberty the 28th day of April 1585.

Now to return to the King's plagues and punishments: which Almighty GOD at His will and pleasure, sendeth upon men, in the sight of the world; and likewise of the plagues that befel his children and others aforesaid.

First, when we were made bondmen, being the 2nd day of May 1584, the King had 300 captives; and before the month was expired, there died 150 of them of the plague. And whereas there were twenty-six men of our company; of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that we were made bondslaves: that present month there died of the plague, nine [? *ten*] more of our company; and other two were forced to turn Turks, as is before rehearsed.

On the 4th day of June next following, the King lost 150 camels, which were taken from him by the wild Moors.

On the 28th day of the said month of June, one GEOFFREY MALTESE, a *renegado* of Malta, ran away to his country; and stole a brigantine which the King had builded for to take

Christians withal: and carried with him twelve Christians more, which were the King's captives.

Afterwards about the 10th day of July next following, the King rode forth upon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seen, as white as any swan. He had not ridden forty paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell down under him stark dead: and I with six more were commanded to bury her, skin, shoes, and all; which we did.

And about three months after our delivery [*i.e.*, *July* 1585], Master BARTON with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripoli for *Z*ante, in a vessel called a Settee, of one MARCUS SEGOORUS who dwelt in *Z*ante. After our arrival at *Z*ante, we remained fifteen days aboard our vessel before we could have *platego*, that is, leave to come ashore; because the plague was in that place from whence we came.

About three days after we came ashore, thither came another Settee of Marseilles bound for Constantinople. Then did Master BARTON and his company, with two more of our Company, ship themselves as passengers in the same Settee; and went to Constantinople.

But the other nine of us that remained in *Z*ante, about three months after, shipped ourselves in a ship of the said MARCUS SEGOORUS, which came to *Z*ante, and was bound for England.

In which three months, the soldiers of Tripoli killed the said King. Then the King's son, according to the custom there, went to Constantinople to surrender up all his father's treasure, goods, captives, and concubines unto the Great Turk: and took with him our said Purser RICHARD BURGES, and JAMES SMITH; and also the other two Englishmen which he, the King's son, had enforced to become Turks, as is aforesaid.

And they, the said Englishmen, finding now some opportunity, concluded with the Christian captives which were going with them unto Constantinople, being in number about 150, to kill the King's son and all the Turks which were on board the galley: and privily the said Englishmen conveyed unto the said Christian captives weapons for that purpose.

And when they came into the main sea, toward Constantinople, upon the faithful promise of the said Christian captives, these four Englishmen leaped suddenly into the *crossia*, that is, into the midst of the galley where the cannon lieth, and with their swords drawn, did fight against all the foresaid Turks: but for want of help from the said Christian captives, who falsely brake their promises, the said Master BLONKET's boy and [JOHN NELSON] the other Englishman were killed; and the said JAMES SMITH and our Purser RICHARD BURGES were taken, and bound in chains, to be hanged at their arrival in Constantinople.

And as the LORD's will was, about two days after, passing through the Gulf of Venice, at an island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the Doge of Venice's galleys; which took that galley, and killed the King's son, his mother, and all the Turks that were there, 150 in number. They saved the Christian captives; and would have killed the two Englishmen, because they were circumcised and become Turks; had not the other Christian captives excused them, saying that "they were enforced to be Turks by the King's son," and showed the Venetians also how they did enterprise at sea to fight all the Turks, and that their two fellows were slain in that fight. Then the Venetians saved them; and they, with all the residue of the said captives (which were in number 150 or thereabouts), had their liberty: and the said galley and all the Turks' treasure was confiscated to the use of the State of Venice.

From thence, our two Englishmen travelled homeward by land.

In this mean time, one more of our company died at *Z*ante, and afterwards the other eight shipped themselves at *Z*ante in a ship of the said MARCUS SEGOORUS, which was bound for England. Before we departed thence, there arrived the *Ascension* and the *George Bonaventure* of London, in Cephalonia; in a harbour there called Argostoli; whose Merchants [*supercargoes*] agreed with the Merchant of our ship, and so laded all the merchandise of our ship into the said ships of London; who took us eight also in as passengers. So we came home.

And within two months after our arrival at London, our

said Purser RICHARD BURGES and his fellow came home also.

For all which, we are bound to praise Almighty GOD during our lives; and as duty bindeth us, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queen, for the great care Her Majesty had over us her poor subjects, in seeking and procuring our deliverance aforesaid; and also for her honourable Privy Council. And I especially for the prosperity and good estate of the house of the late deceased the Right Honourable [FRANCIS RUSSELL] the Earl of BEDFORD [d. 1585]; whose Honour, I must confess, most diligently, at the suit of my father now departed, travailed herein; for the which I rest continually bounden to his; whose soul, I doubt not, but is already in the heavens in joy, with the Almighty. Unto which place, He vouchsafe to bring us all, that for our sins suffered most vile and shameful death upon the cross: there to live perpetually, world without end. Amen.

John Chilton.

Travels in Mexico. 1568—1585 A.D.

[Hakluyt. *Voyages.* 1589.]

A notable Discourse of Master John Chilton, touching the people, manners, mines, cities, riches, forces, and other memorable things of the West Indias; seen and noted by himself in the time of his travels, continued in those parts the space of seventeen or eighteen years.

These travels also refer to Sir John Hawkins's disaster at San Juan de Ulua.

N THE year of our Lord 1561, in the month of July, I, JOHN CHILTON, went out of this city of London into Spain; where I remained for the space of seven years: and from thence, I sailed into New Spain, and so travelled there, and by the South Sea [*Pacific*] into Peru, the space of seventeen or eighteen years.

After that time expired, I returned into Spain; and so, in the year 1586, in the month of July, I arrived at the foresaid city of London: where perusing the notes which I had taken in the time of my travel in those years, I have set down, as followeth.

In the year 1568, in the month of March, being desirous to see the world, I embarked myself in the Bay of Cadiz, in Andalusia, in a ship bound for the isles of the Canaries; where she took in her lading, and set forth from thence for the voyage, in the month of June the same year.

Within a month after, we fell with the isle of Santo Domingo; and from thence, sailing directly to New Spain, we came into the port of San Juan de Ulua [*about two months before* HAWKINS*'s arrival at the same port on September* 16, 1568: *see Vol. I. pp.* 96-8, *and the following description probably describes the island as Sir* JOHN *found it*]: which is a little island standing in the sea, about two miles [?] from the land: where the King maintaineth about 50 soldiers, and Captains, that keep the forts; and about 150 Negroes, who, all the year long, are occupied in carrying stone for building and other uses, and to help to make fast the ships that come in there with their cables. There are two Bulwarks [*batteries*], at each end of a wall, that standeth likewise in the said island; where the ships use [*are accustomed*] to ride, made fast to the said wall with their cables; so near, that a man may leap ashore.

From this port, I journeyed by land to a town called Vera Cruz, standing by a river's side: where all the Factors of the Spanish merchants dwell, which receive the goods of such ships as come thither; and also lade the same with such treasure and merchandize as they return back into Spain.

They are in number, about 400 : who only remain here during the time that the Spanish Fleet dischargeth and is ladened again ; which is from the end of August, to the beginning of April following : and then, for the unwholesomeness of the place, they depart thence sixteen miles further up within the country, to a town called Xalapa [*see page* 213], a very healthful soil.

There is never any woman delivered of child in this town ; for so soon as they perceive themselves conceived with child, they get them up into the country, to avoid the peril of the infected air : although they use [*are accustomed*], every morning, to drive through the town, about 2,000 head of cattle, to take away the ill vapours of the earth.

From Xalapa, seven leagues, I came to another place named Perota ; wherein are certain houses built of straw, called by the name of *Ventz* : the inhabitants whereof are Spaniards, who accustom to harbour such travellers as are occasioned to journey that way, up into the land. It standeth in a great wood of pine and cedar trees ; the soil being very cold, by reason of store of snow, which lieth on the mountains there, all the year long. There are in that place, an infinite number of deer, of highness like unto great mules, having also horns of great length.

From Perota, nine leagues, I came to the fo[u]nts of Ozumba ; which fo[u]nts are springs of water issuing out of certain rocks into the midst of the highway : where likewise are certain ranges ; and houses for the uses before mentioned.

Eight leagues off, from this place, I came to the City of Angels [*Puebla de los Angeles*], so called by that name, of the Spaniards ; who inhabit there to the number of 1,000, besides a great number of Indians. This city standeth in very plain fields, having near adjoining to it many sumptuous cities : as, namely, the city of Tlascala, a city of 200,000 Indians, tributary to the King [of Spain] ; although he exacteth no other tribute of them than a handful of wheat a piece, which amounteth to 13,000 hannegas [2,600 *English Quarters*] yearly, as appeareth by the King's Books of Account. And the reason why he contenteth himself with this tribute only from them, is because they were the occasion that he took the city of Mexico : with which, the Tlascalans had war at the same time that the Spaniards came into the country.

The Governor of this city is a Spaniard, called among them *Alcade Major*, who administereth chiefest causes of justice, both unto the Christians and Indians; referring smaller and lighter vices, as drunkenness and such like, to the judgement and discretion of such of the Indians as are chosen, every year, to rule amongst them, and called by the name of *Alcades*.

These Indians [*at Puebla de los Angeles*], from fourteen years old and upwards, pay unto the King for their yearly tribute one ounce of silver [*the* Peso = 6*s.* 8*d.* (*or in present value* 53*s.*); *see pp.* 105, 320] and a hannega [$\frac{1}{5}$*th of an English Quarter*] of maise, which is valued among them commonly at 12 Rials of Plate [*or silver* = 6*s.* (*or in present value* 48*s.*)]. The widows among them pay half of this.

The Indians both of this city, and of the rest lying about Mexico, go clothed with mantles of linen cloth made of cotton wool, painted throughout with works of divers and fine colours.

Distant from the City of the Angels, four leagues to the northward, and fourteen from Mexico; there is another city called Cholula, consisting of more than 60,000 Indians, tributaries: and there dwelleth not above twelve Spaniards there.

From it, about two leagues, there is another called Acassingo, of about 5,000 Indians, and eight or twelve Spaniards; which standeth at the foot of the Volcano of Mexico [*Popocatepetl*].

There are besides these, three other great cities, the one named Tepeaca, a very famous city; Huexotzinco, and Tetzmellocan.

All these, in times past, belonged to the kingdom Tlascala: and from these cities they bring all their cochineal into Spain.

The distance from the City of the Angels to the city of Mexico is twenty leagues. This city, Mexico, is the city of greatest fame in all the Indias: having goodly and costly houses in it, built all of lime and stone; and seven streets in length, and seven in breadth, with rivers running through every second street, by which they bring their provisions in canoes.

It is situated at the foot of certain hills, which contain in compass by estimation above twenty leagues, compassing the said city on the one side; and a lake, which is fourteen leagues about, on the other side. Upon which lake, there are built many notable and sumptuous cities, as the city of Tescuco: where the Spaniards built six frigates at that time when they conquered Mexico; and where also Hernando Cortes made his abode five or six months, in curing of the sickness of his people, which they had taken at their coming into the country. There dwell in this city about 60,000 Indians, which pay tribute to the King.

In this city [*Mexico*] the said Hernando built the finest Church that ever was built in the Indias; the name whereof is St. Peter's.

After I had continued six months in this city; being desirous to see farther the countries, I employed [*invested*] that which I had, and took my voyage [*in* 1569] towards the Provinces of the California: in the which was discovered a certain country by a Biscayan, whose name was Diego de Guiara, and called it after the name of his country, New Biscay; where I sold my merchandise for exchange of silver, for there were there certain rich mines discovered by the aforesaid Biscayan.

Going from Mexico, I directed my voyage towards the south-west, to certain mines called Tamalxaltepec; and so travelled forward, the space of twenty days, through desert uninhabited places, till I came to the Valley of St. Bartholomew, which joineth to the province of New Biscay. In all these places, the Indians are for the most part naked, and are wild people. Their common armour is bows and arrows. They use [*are accustomed*] to eat up such Christians as they come by.

At my return to Mexico, I came along by the coast of the South Sea, through the Province of Zacatula; from thence in the Province of Coloa: where I employed the silver that I had in a certain grain growing like an almond, called among the Indians Cacao [*Cocoa beans*] which in New Spain is current for money, to buy things of small value, as fruits, &c.; for they have no small money there; and in which, also, they pay

the King his tribute. They grind this grain to a powder, and mingle it with water; and so is made both bread and drink to them; which is a provision of great profit and good strength.

From thence departing, I came to another province named Xalisco, and from thence to the port of Navidad which is sixty-six leagues from Mexico. In which port arrive, always in the month of April, all the ships that come out of the South Sea, from China and the Philippines; and there they lay their merchandise ashore: the most part whereof is mantles made of cotton wool, wax, and fine platters gilt made of earth, and much gold.

The next summer following, being in the year 1570, which was the first year that the Pope's *Bulls* were brought into the Indias; I undertook another voyage towards the Province of Sonsonate, which is in the kingdom of Guatemala; whither I carried divers merchandise of Spain, all by land on mules' backs. The way thitherward, from Mexico, is to the City of the Angels; and from thence to another city of Christians, eighty leagues off, called Guaxaca, in which there dwelt about fifty Spaniards and many Indians. All the Indians of this Province pay their tribute in mantles of cotton wool, and cochineal, whereof there groweth great abundance about this country.

Near to this place, there lieth a port in the South Sea, called Aquatulca [*Acapulco*]: in which there dwelleth not above three or four Spaniards, with certain Negroes which the King maintaineth there. In which place, Sir FRANCIS DRAKE arrived in the year 1579, in the month of April [*see Vol. I. pp.* 206-8]: where I lost with his being there, about 1,000 ducats * [=£275 =*now about* £2,200]: which he took away, with much other of goods of other merchants of Mexico, from one FRANCISO GOMES RANGIFA, Factor there, for all the Spanish merchants that then traded in the South Sea. For from this port, they use to embark all their goods that go for Peru, and to the kingdom of Honduras.

From Guaxaca, I came to a town named Nixapa, which

* This loss was subsequent to the conclusion of CHILTON'S narrative of his personal adventures; which ends with his journey to Yucatan.

standeth upon certain very high hills in the Province of Zapatecos, wherein inhabit about the number of twenty Spaniards by the King of Spain's commandment, to keep that country in peace; for that the Indians are very rebellious: and for this purpose he bestoweth on them the towns and cities that be within that Province.

From hence, I went to a city called Tehuantepec, which is the furthest town to the eastward in all New Spain, which sometime did belong to [HERNANDO CORTES] the Marquis DE LA VALLE: and because it is a very fit port, standing in the South Sea, the King of Spain, upon a rebellion [!] made by the said Marquis against him, took it from him, and doth now possess it as his own.

Here, in the year 1572, I saw a piece of ordnance of brass, called a Demi-Culverin, which came out of a ship called the *Jesus* of Lubeck [*See Vol. I. pp.* 93, 101, 115-126], which Captain HAWKINS left in San Juan de Ulua, being in fight with the Spaniards, in the year 1568, which piece they afterward carried a hundred leagues by land, over mighty mountains, to the said city, to be embarked for the Philippines.

Leaving Tehuantepec, I went still along by the South Sea, about 150 leagues, in the desolate Province of Soconusco: in which Province there groweth *Cacao*, which the Christians carry from thence into New Spain; for that it will not grow in any cold country. The Indians of this country pay the King their tribute in Cacao, giving him 400 Cargas (every Carge is 2,400 almonds) which Carge is worth in Mexico, 30 pieces of Rials of Plate [15*s.* (=£6 *now*)]. They are men of great riches, and withal very proud: and in all this Province throughout, there dwell not twenty Christians.

I travelled through another Province called Suchetepec, and thence to the Province of Guasacapan, in both of which Provinces are very few people; the biggest town therein having not above 200 Indians. The chiefest merchandise there is Cacao.

Hence, I went to the city of Guatemala, which is the chief city of all this Kingdom. In this city, do inhabit about eighty Spaniards: and here the King hath his Governors and Council, to whom all the people of the kingdom repair for justice. This city standeth from the coast of the South Sea, fourteen leagues within the land, and is very rich,

by reason of the gold that they fetch out of the coast of Veragua.

From this city, to the Eastward, sixty leagues, hath the Province of Sonsonate; where I sold the merchandise I carried out of New Spain. The chiefest city of this Province is San Salvador, which hath seven leagues from the coast of the South Sea, and hath a port lying by the sea coast, called Acaxutla, where the ships arrive with the merchandise they bring from New Spain; and from thence, lade back the Cacao. There dwell there to the number of sixty Spaniards.

From Sonsonate, I travelled to Nicoya, which is the Kingdom of Nicaragua. In which port, the King buildeth all the shipping that travel out of the Indies to the Moluccas.

I went forward from thence to Costa Rica, where the Indians, both men and women, go all naked; and the land lieth between Panama and the Kingdom of Guatemala.

And for that the Indians there, live as warriors, I durst not pass by land: so that here, in a town called San Salvador, I bestowed that which I carried in anil [*indigo*], which is a kind of thing to dye blue withal, which I carried with me to the port of Cavallos [*see Vol. I. p.* 213, *at present, called Puerto Cortes or Cabellos*], lying in the Kingdom of Honduras: which port is a mighty huge river; and at the coming in of the one side of it, there lieth a town of little force, without ordnance or any other strength, having in it houses of straw. At which town, the Spaniards use yearly, in the month of August, to unlade four ships which come out of Spain laden with rich merchandise, and receive in again here, a kind of merchandise called anil, cochineal (although it be not of such value as that of New Spain), silver of the mines of Toma Angua, gold of Nicaragua, hides, and salsaparilla the best in all the Indies. All which merchandise they return [*take back*], and depart from thence always in the month of April following [*CHILTON evidently went this voyage in April*, 1571], taking their course by the island of Jamaica: in which island, there dwell on the west side of it certain Spaniards of no great number. From this place, they go to Cape St. Antonio; which is the uttermost part of the westward of the isle of Cuba.

And from thence, to Havanna, lying hard by; which is the chiefest port that the King of Spain hath in all the countries of the Indies, and of greatest importance. For all the ships

from Peru, Honduras, Porto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica, and all other places in his Indies, arrive there, on their return to Spain; for that in this port, they take in victuals and water, and the most part of their lading. Here they meet from all the foresaid places, always in the beginning of May, by the King's commandment. At the entrance of this port, it is so narrow that there can scarce come in two ships together; although it be above six fathoms deep in the narrowest place of it.

In the north side of the coming in, there standeth a tower, in which there watcheth every day a man to descry the sail of ships which he can see on the sea: and as many as he discovereth, so many banners he setteth upon the tower, that the people of the town (which standeth within the port about a mile from the tower) may understand thereof. [*See Vol. II. p. 98, for a similar arrangement at Terceira.*]

Under this tower, there lieth a sandy shore, where men may easily go aland: and by the tower, there runneth a hill along by the water's side; which easily, with small store of ordnance, subdueth the town and port. The port within is so large, that there may easily ride a thousand sail of ships, without anchor or cable: for no wind is able to hurt them.

There inhabit within the town of Havanna, about 300 Spaniards, and about sixty soldiers; which the King maintaineth there, for the keeping of a certain castle which he hath of late erected, which hath planted in it about twelve pieces of small ordnance. It is compassed round with a small ditch, wherethrough, at their pleasure, they may let in the sea.

About two leagues from Havanna, there lieth another town called Guanabacoa, in which there are dwelling about 100 Indians: and from this place sixty leagues, there lieth another town named Bahama, situated on the north side of the island. The chiefest city of this island of Cuba, which is above 200 miles in length, is also called Cuba [*Santiago de Cuba*]; where dwelleth a Bishop and about 200 Spaniards: which town standeth on the south side of the island about a hundred leagues from Havanna.

All the trade of this island is cattle; which they kill only for the hides that are brought thence into Spain. For which end, the Spaniards maintain there many negroes to kill their cattle: and foster [*breed*] a great number of hogs, which

being killed and cut into small pieces, they dry in the sun; and so make provision for the ships which come for Spain.

Having remained in this island two months, I took shipping [? *in July*, 1571] in a frigate [*brigantine*], and went over to Nombre de Dios; and from thence by land to Panama, which standeth upon the South Sea. From Nombre de Dios to Panama is seventeen leagues [*see Vol. II. pp.* 232, 270-3]. From which town [*Nombre*] there runneth a river, which is called the River of Chagres, which runneth [up] within five leagues of Panama, to a place called [Venta de] Cruzes: by which river they carry their goods and disembark it at the said Cruzes; and from thence it is conveyed on mules' backs to Panama by land: where they again embark it, in certain small ships, in the South Sea for all the coast of Peru. In one of these ships, I went to [*started for*] Potosi, and from thence by land to Cuzco, and from thence to Paita. Here I remained the space of seven months.

I then returned towards the Kingdom of Quatemala; and arrived in the Provinces of Nicoya and Nicaragua.

From Nicaragua, I travelled by land to a Province called Nicamula, which lieth towards the North Sea [*Gulf of Mexico*] in certain high mountains: for that I could not pass through the kingdom of Quatemala at that time, for the waters wherewith all the low countries of the Province of Soconusco, lying by the South Sea, are drowned with the rain that falleth above in the mountains, enduring always from April to September; which season for that cause they call their winter.

From this Province, I came into another called Vera Paz; in which the chiefest city is also called after that name, where there dwelleth a Bishop, and about forty Spaniards. Among the mountains of this country towards the North Sea, there is a Province called *La Candona*, where are Indian men of war which the King cannot subdue: for they have towns and forts in a great lake of water above, in the said mountains. The most part of them go naked, and some wear mantles of cotton wool.

Distant from this, about eighty leagues, I came into another Province, called the Province of Chiapa; wherein the chiefest city is called *Z*acatlan [*Ciudad Real*]: where dwelleth a Bishop and about a hundred Spaniards. In this country

there is great store of cotton wool; whereof the Indians make fine linen cloth, which the Christians buy and carry into New Spain. The people of this Province pay their tribute to the King all in cotton wool and feathers.

Fourteen leagues from this city, there is another city called Chiapa; where are the finest gennets in all the Indies, which are carried hence to Mexico, 300 leagues from it.

From this city, I travelled still [*going now southward*] through hills and mountains till I came to the end of this Province, to a hill called Ecatepec, which in English signifieth, the "Hill of Wind": for that they say it is the highest hill that was ever discovered, for from the top of it may be discovered both the North and South Seas; and it is in height supposed to be nine leagues. They which travel over it, lie always at the foot of it overnight, and begin their journey about midnight to travel to the top of it before the sunrise of the next day: because the wind bloweth with such force afterwards, that it is impossible for any man to go up.

From the foot of this hill to Tehuantepec, the first town of New Spain, is about fifteen leagues. And so from thence, I journeyed to Mexico.

By and by, after I came to Mexico, which was in the year 1572; in the company of another Spaniard, who was my companion in this journey [*to Peru and back*]; we went together toward the Province of Panuco which lieth upon the coast of the North Sea.

Within three days' journey, we entered a city called Meztitlan, where there dwelt twelve Spaniards. The Indian inhabitants there were about 30,000. This city standeth in certain high mountains, which are very thick planted with trees; very wholesome and fruitful, having plentiful fountains of water running through them. The highways of these hills are all set with fruits and most pleasant trees of divers kinds. In every town, as we passed through, the Indians presented us with victuals.

Within twenty leagues of this place, there is another city, called Tlanchinoltepec, belonging to a gentleman, where there inhabit about 40,000 Indians: and there are among them, eight or nine Friars of the order of Saint Augustine, who have there a monastery.

Within three days after, we departed from this place, and came to a city called Guaxutla; where there is another Monastery of Friars of the same order. There dwell in this town about twelve Spaniards.

From this place forwards, beginneth a Province called Guastecan; which is all plain grounds without any hills. The first town we came unto is called Tanguilabe, in which there dwell many Indians high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blue, and wear their hair long down to their knees, tied as women used to do with their hairlaces. When they go out of their doors, they carry with them their bows and arrows, being very great archers: going for the most part naked.

In those countries, they take neither gold nor silver for exchange of anything; but only salt: which they greatly esteem, and use it as a principal medicine for certain worms which breed in their lips and in their gums.

After nine days' travel from this place, we came to a town called Tampico, which is a port town upon the sea; wherein there dwell, I think, forty Christians: of which number, whilst we abode there, the Indians [*Chichimics*] killed fourteen, as they were gathering salt; which is all the trade that they have in this place. It standeth upon the entry of the river of Panuco, which is a mighty great river: and were it not for a sand that lieth at the mouth of it, ships of 500 tons might go up into it above threescore leagues.

From hence, we went to Panuco, fourteen leagues from Tampico; which in times past had been a goodly city, where the King of Spain had his Governor: but by reason that the Indians [*Chichimics*] there destroyed the Christians, it lieth in a manner waste, containing in it not above ten Christians, with a priest.

In this town, I fell sick: where I lay forty-one days, having no other sustenance than fruit and water: which water I sent for, about six leagues off within the country. Here I remained till my companion came to me, who had departed from me another way; I having kept in my company only a slave which I brought with me from Mexico: and the last day in Easter week [1572 *or* 1573], my companion came to me, finding me in a very weak state, by reason of the unwholesomeness of the place.

Notwithstanding my weakness, I being set on a horse and an Indian behind me to hold me; we went forward in our voyage all that day till night.

The next day, in the morning, we passed over the river in a canoe: and being on the other side, I went myself before alone; and by reason there met many ways trailed by the wild beasts, I lost my way: and so travelled through a great wood about two leagues; and at length fell into the hands of certain wild Indians [*Chichimics*], which were in certain cottages made of straw. Who seeing me, came out, to the number of twenty of them, with their bows and arrows; and spake unto me in their language; which I understood not.

So I made signs unto them to help me from my horse; which they did, by commandment of their lord [*chief*] which was there with them: and [a]lighted down, they carried me under one of their cottages, and laid me upon a mat on the ground.

Perceiving that I could not understand them, they brought unto me a little Indian wench, of Mexico, of fifteen or sixteen years of age; whom they commanded to ask me in her language, from whence I came, and for what intent I am among them? "For," said she, "dost thou not know, Christian! how that these people will kill and eat thee?"

To whom I answered, "Let them do with me, what they will! here now I am!"

She replied, saying, "Thou mayst thank GOD thou art lean! for they do fear thou hast the [small]pox, otherwise they would eat thee!"

So I presented to the King [*cacique or chief*] a little wine, which I had with me in a bottle; which he esteemed above any treasure: for for wine they will sell their wives and children.

Afterwards the wench asked me, "What I would have, and whether I would eat anything?"

I answered that "I desired a little water to drink, for that the country is very hot!"

She brought me a great gilded Venice glass full of water. Marvelling at the glass, I demanded, "How they came by it?"

She told me that "the Caique brought it from Shallapa

[? *Jalapa*], a town on the hills distant from this place thirty leagues; whereas dwelt certain Christians and certain Friars of the order of St. Augustine: which this Caique with his people, on a night, slew; and burning the Friars' Monastery, among other things, reserved this glass; and from hence also brought me."

Having now been conversant with them, three or four hours, they bid her ask me, "if I would go my way?"

I answered her that "I desired nothing else."

So the Caique caused two of the Indians to lead me forward in my way, going before me, with their naked bows and arrows, the space of three leagues, till they brought me to a highway: and then making a sign to me, they signified that in a short time, I should come to a town where Christians inhabited; which was called Santiago de las Villas, standing in the plain fields, walled about with a mud wall. The number of Christians that dwelt therein were not above four or five and twenty: unto which the King of Spain giveth Indians and towns, to keep the country subject unto him.

Here the Christians have their mighty mules, with which they carry to all parts of the Indies, and into Peru: for all their merchandise is carried by land by this means.

In this town aforesaid, I found my company [*his Spanish friend, &c.*] which I had lost before; who made no other account of me but that I had been slain. And the Christians there likewise marvelled to hear that I came from those kind of Indians alive: which was a thing never seen, nor heard of before. For they take great pride in killing a Christian, and to wear any part of him where he hath any hair growing [*e.g., the scalp*], hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

In this town, I remained eighteen days, till I recovered my health. In the mean space, there came one Don Francisco de Pago, whom the Viceroy, Don Henrico Manriques, had sent, for Captain General, to open and discover a certain way from the seaside to the mines of *Z*acatecas, which is from this place 160 leagues; for to transport their merchandise that way: and to leave the way by Mexico, which is seven or eight months' travel.

So this Captain took me and my company [*his slave,*

Spanish friend, &c.] with the rest of his soldiers, to the number of forty, which he had brought with him, and 500 Indians which we took out of two towns in this Province called Tanchipa and Tamadelipa, all good archers and naked men; and went thence to the river de las Palmas [? *Rio Satander*] of great bigness, parting the kingdom of New Spain and Florida.

Going still along by this river the space of three days, seeking a passage to pass over and finding none: we were at length enforced to cut timber to make a *balsa* [*raft*] which when we had made, we sat on it, and the Indians swimming in the water and thrusting it before them to the other side.

Within thirty days after, after travelling through woods, hills, and mountains, we came to the mines of *Z*acatecas: which are the richest mines in all the Indies, and from thence they fetch most silver. In which mines, there dwelt above 300 Christians.

There, our Captain gave us leave to depart. So we came to the Valley of Saint Michael, toward Mexico; and from thence to Puebla Neuva.

And from that place, to the Province of Mechuacan (after which name, the chiefest city of that place is called, where dwell a Bishop and above a hundred Spaniards in it). It aboundeth with all kinds of Spanish fruits, and hath woods full of nut trees and wild vines. Here are many mines of copper, and great store of cattle. It lieth sixty leagues from Mexico (whither we came within four days after). The Indians of this country are very mighty and big men.

Afterwards, I returned another way, to the Province of Sonsonate, by Vera Cruz; and so to the Rio Alvarado; and from thence to the Province of Campeche [now *Yucatan*], which lieth on the south side of the Bay of Mexico. The chief town of this Province is called Merida, in which is a Bishop and almost a hundred Spaniards. The Indians of this Province pay all their tribute in mantles of cotton wool and cocoa. There is no port in all this Province for a ship of a 100 tons to ride in, but only in the river of Tabasco, by which river the city of Merida standeth. The chiefest merchandise with which they lade there in small frigates, is a certain wood

called *campeche* [*logwood*] wherewith they use to dye, as also hides and anil.

By this, there lieth the Province of Yucatan near the Hondura[s] by the North Sea coast; where there is also another Bishop, and a town likewise named Yucatans [? *Valladolid*], where dwell a few Spaniards. They have no force at all, in all this coast, to defend themselves withal; save only that the land is low, and there is no port to receive any shipping unless they be frigates, which carry from thence to the port of San Juan de Ulua, wax, cocoa, honey: also mantles of cotton wool, whereof they make their great store; and of which kind of merchandise there is great trade thence to Mexico. Of the same also, they pay their tribute to the King.

The King hath tribute brought him yearly out of the Indies into Spain of between nine and ten millions of gold and silver [*i.e., crowns, equal to seventy to eighty millions of the present day*]. For he receiveth of every Indian that is subject to him, excepting those which do belong to the *Incommenderos* (which are the children of those Spaniards who first conquered the land; to whom the King gave and granted the government of the cities and towns subdued, for three lives) 12 Rials of Plate [= 6*s.*, *or in present value* 48*s.*] and a hannega (five of them make a Quarter of English measure) of maize which is a wheat of the country: and of every widow woman, he had 6½ rials [3*s.* 3*d.*, *or* 26*s. now*] and half a hannega of maize. So if an infidel [*heathen*] have twenty children in his house, he payeth for every one of them, being above fifteen years old, after that rate. This wheat, being duly brought to the Governor of every Province and city, is sold in Mexico, by the King's Governors there, every year. So that the money received for it is put into the King's Treasury there; and so is yearly carried from thence into Spain.

Of the Spaniards which are owners of the mines of gold and silver, he receiveth the Fifth Part, which he calleth his *Quintas*: which being taken out of the heap, there are his arms set on it; for, otherwise, it may not be brought out of the land into Spain, under pain of death.

The Mark of Silver, which is 8 ounces, when it cometh

out of the mines, not having the King's seal upon it, is worth 43 Rials of Plate [= 21*s.* 6*d.* *or about* £8 8*s.* *now*], and so it is current. And when they will bring it for Spain, they carry it to the King's Treasure House [*at Mexico*] where his seal is set upon it; and so it is raised in value thereby, to 64 Rials of Plate: and so the King hath for his custom [*tax*] of every Mark of Plate 21 Rials.

From the year [15]70, which was the year that the Pope's *Bulls* came into the Indies, as is before mentioned: he [*the King*] hath received, both of the Indians which are tributaries to him, and also of all others belonging to the *Incommenderos*, of every one, being above twelve years of age, four Rials [= 2*s.* = 16*s.* *now*] of every *Bull*.

Also they carry other *Pardons* with them into the Indies, for such as be dead, although a hundred years before the Spaniards came into the country: which *Pardons*, the Friars in their preachings, persuade the poor Indians to take; telling them, that with giving four Rials of Plate [2*s.* = 16*s.* *now*] for a *Mass*, they would deliver their souls out of purgatory.

Of the Christians likewise, dwelling there, he hath 14 Rials [7*s.* = 56*s.* *now*] for every *Bull*: and there be certain *Bulls* brought thither for the Christians besides the former, which serve for pardoning all such faults wherein they have trespassed against either the King by keeping back his customs, or one against another, by any other injury. For every 100 crowns [=£30 =£240 *now*] whereof his conscience doth accuse him, that he hath deceived the King or any other, he must give 10 [£3=£24 *now*]; and so, after that rate, for every 100 which he hath, any way, stolen; and so is pardoned the fault.

The revenue of his *Bulls*, after this manner, yieldeth unto his Treasury yearly, above three millions [*crowns* = *above* £1,000,000, *or* £8,000,000 *now*] of gold as I have been credibly informed. Although of late, both the Spaniards and the Indians do refuse to take the *Bulls*: for that they perceive he doth make a yearly custom [*tax*] of it. Only the Indian takes one *Pardon* for all his household (whereas in former time every Indian used to take one for every person in the house), and teareth the same into small pieces, and giveth to every one of his household a little piece, saying thus, "They need now no more; seeing, in that which they bought

the year before they had above 10,000 years' *Pardon*." These pieces they stick up in the wall of the houses where they lie.

Both the Christians and Indians are weary with these infinite taxes and customs, which, of late, he hath imposed upon them more than in the years before.

So the people of both sorts did rebel twice in the time that I was among them [1568–1585 ?]; and would have set up another King of themselves. For which cause, the King hath commanded, upon pain of death, that they should not plant either wine or oil there; but should always stand in need of them to be brought out of Spain: although there would more grow there in four years, than there groweth in Spain in twenty, it is so fertile a country.

And the King, to keep the country always in subjection and to his own use, hath straitly provided by law, upon pain of death and loss of goods, that none of these countries should traffic with any other nation, although the people themselves do much now desire to trade with any other that with them [than with them]; which they would undoubtedly do, if they feared not the peril.

About Mexico and other places in New Spain, there groweth a certain plant called *Nege* [*the Mexican Agave*], which yieldeth wine, vinegar, honey, and black sugar; and of the leaves of it dried, they make hemp, ropes, shoes which they use, and tiles for their houses: and at the end of every leaf there groweth a sharp point like an awl, wherewith they use to bore or pierce through anything.

Thus I make an end. I have here set down the sum of all the chiefest things that I have observed and noted in my seventeen years' travels in those parts.

N. H.

The worthy and famous Voyage of Master Thomas Cavendish, made round about the Globe of the Earth; in the space of two years, and less than two months.

Begun in the year 1586.

[Hakluyt's *Voyages*. 1589.]

The worshipful and worthy gentleman, Master Thomas Ca[ve]ndish of Suffolk, having in the year 1585 furnished out a ship, wherein he went, as Captain, with Sir Richard Grenville to Virginia: in which course he passed by the Canaries, and so to the isles of Dominica, Hispaniola, Saint John de Porto Rico, the Lucaios [*Bahamas*], and Florida, in the West Indies. Thus fleshed, and somewhat hardened unto the sea, immediately after his coming home, he began to take in hand a Voyage into the South Sea, and consequently round about the Globe of the Earth: which he also performed with invincible courage, great good government, and incredible celerity; to the great admiration of all men of judgement.

Having therefore, at his own proper cost, new built from the keel, and furnished with all things necessary for two years' provision, a brave ship called the *Desire* of 140 tons, and a lesser of 60 tons, whose name was the *Content*; joining thereunto a bark of 40 tons named the *Hugh Gallant*, in

which small fleet were 125 men: the 10th day of June 1586, he departed from London, and came to Harwich; and sailed from thence the 29th of the same month. He arrived at Plymouth the 8th day of July, from whence he set sail the 21st thereof. Thus he proceeded on his voyage until the 25th day; at which time, one Master Hope died, who had been wounded a little before he went to sea.

The 26th day, we met with four great Biscayen ships, on which we bestowed eighteen great shot, and shrewdly tare that ship which we in the Admiral [*flag ship*] assailed; but we left her and the others, lest we should loose the rest of our consorts, it being nine o'clock at night.

The 5th day of August, we fell in with the island of Fuerte Ventura [*one of the Canaries*], and sailed thence to Cape Blanco; and so to the coast of Guinea unto a harbour called Sierra Leone: where, having conference with the negroes, we fell at variance; so that three score of our men went on shore, and drave them from their town, sacked their houses and burnt their dwellings. On the 29th of the same month, we departed from them, where going five leagues from the place we came to an island called *Insula Verde* [? Sherboro Island], where we found plantains and other fruits, and fresh water; it being an island of the negroes' husbandry.

The 6th of September, we burnt here some 150 houses, because of their bad dealing with us and all Christians. In this place, we redeemed a Portuguese; whom by treason they had caught, and held in very miserable captivity. The 13th day, we went from thence; the 30th, we passed the equinoctial line.

Thus we sailed forth, until the 25th of October, at which time we came to the continent of Brazil; and coasting along until the end of that month, the 1st of November we anchored under an island called Saint Sebastian [*about* 25° *S. Lat.*]; where we rode twenty-three days between the main [sea] and it. There we stored ourselves with fresh water and fuel; and built a new pinnace of 10 tons. On the 9th day, died one Robert Smith of the disease called *scorbuto*; which is an infection of the blood and the liver. The 23rd of November, we left this island.

On the 5th December, died one Robert Tates of the disease aforesaid. So coasting along till the 16th of this

month, we discovered an harbour which we named the Port of *Desire*, according to our ship's name; being almost as big as the harbour of Plymouth. In this place we had gulls, puets [*lapwings*], penguins, and seals in abundance, to all our comforts and great refreshing. This Port is somewhat on this side of Port St. Julian.

Sailing from this harbour towards the Straits [of Magellan], before we came to the entrance thereof, we espied certain poor starved Spaniards travelling overland towards the River of Plate, whereof we took one into our ship: of whom we understood that of both the two colonies planted in the Straits of Magellan by Pedro Sarmiento, there were but twenty-two men only left alive; all the rest being utterly perished for hunger, to the number of some three hundred persons.

On the 6th day of January [1587], we put into the Straits of Magellan; and on the 8th, we came to two islands named by Sir Francis Drake, the one Bartholomew Island, because he came thither on that Saint's day; and the other, Penguin Island, upon which we powdered [*salted*] three tons of penguins for the victualling of our ship.

On the 9th day, we came unto a town of the Spaniards, erected in March 1584, called by them the "City of King Philip," but by us the "Town of Famine;" because we evidently saw the inhabitants, saving the aforesaid twenty-two, had all been most miserably starved. We took away with us six pieces of their ordnance, whereof three were brass and three were iron; and were glad to hasten from this place, for the most noisome stench and vile savour wherewith it was infected, through the contagion of the Spaniards' pined and dead carcasses.

Thus sailing through the Straits, the 20th day of January, in the midway, we espied savages of a reasonable stature, and went unto them, and conferred with them; but such was their brutishness and their treachery, that they would have betrayed us under the show of amity; but we espying their treason, gave the first onset, and every shot of us chose his man; and by that means slew some, and hurt more. The rest escaped. So having many flaws of southerly and south-westerly wind, we were kept within the Straits until the 23rd of February.

That same day, we passed out of the Straits into the sea called by MAGELLAN, *mare pacificum*, "the Peaceable or the Calm Sea." Thus we plied up along the coast of Chili by the island of La Mocha, which standeth in 38° S. Lat., until the 14th of March, when we rode under an island called Santa Maria. On which island, we landed eighty men armed, in the morning betimes; and there came unto us the country people, which intreated our General [T. CAVENDISH] very well, and presented him with many sorts of meats. For there we had at our commandment, Spanish wheat, potatoes, hogs, hens, dried dog fish, and divers other good things; to our contentment.

The 20th day, we departed thence, running along until the 28th; which day, being at sea, we felt an earthquake in 33° S. Lat. We put into a bay called the Bay of Quintera on the 30th of this month; where, the 1st of April, we had ten of our men slain, and two taken captive by the Spaniards: which great misfortune lighted on our men through their great recklessness, and want of circumspection; being suddenly surprised by the enemy, when they little thought of him. But on the 3rd day of the same month, the *Hugh* went forth to seaward, and found an island having a great store of pelicans and penguins upon it; whereof they brought good store unto us. And so furnishing ourselves here with fresh water, which we took in despite of them all: we left them, and their cruel harbour, and put out of the bay the 5th of April.

Thus ranging along, we hauled in with a port call Mormorano, where we found a canoe and an Indian in it; which was fishing and had caught a very large tuny, wherewith he presented us. In our conference with him, he showed us the town, which was base and rude. But their government and behaviour are very strange: for when any of them dieth, they bury all his goods and stuff with him, as hooks, nets, canoe, and other trifles.

So sailing along that shore, one of our ships called the *Content*, entered into a bay where a great deal of wine of Castile was buried in *botisios* in the sand; to the quantity of some 300 tuns, wherewith she laded herself; having lost our company. But they found us again at a town called Arica, where they gave us of their wine. In this harbour, we found

a great ship and four barks, which we took and kept until such time as we had taken out of them the best things for our own provision: then we burnt them all; saving one bark, which we kept, and named it the *George*, because we took her on St. George's Day [23 *April*].

The 25th day of April, we went from Arica, sailing to seaward all night; and in the morning, we espied a small bark. Manning our pinnace, we took her: wherein were three Spaniards, one Greek, and one Dutchman. Being examined, they confessed that they came from the Bay of Quintera (where we lost our foresaid twelve men), and that their intent was to go for Lima, to give advice to the Viceroy for to provide force to cut us off: but their pretence [*device*], through GOD's merciful providence, was prevented. One of these Spaniards was a reasonable pilot for those seas.

Thus we continued our course along the coast of Peru until the 4th day of May, upon which day our Spanish pilot led us into a bay called Pisco, where we would have gone on shore, but the sea was so grown [*rough*] that we could not. Yet on the southernmost side of the bay, there was a village called Paraca, where seven of our men went on land, and found figs, pomegranates, and pomegranate wine.

On the 6th of May, we went from Paraca; and in our course we descried to seaward two sails; and gave them chase, and took them. One was laden with meal and marmalade, the other with merchants' goods as sayes [*cloths*] of divers sorts and colours, Castile or white soap, a kind of pease called *garvansas*, Cordovan skins, *montego de porco* which is hog's grease clarified or refined, and molasses or syrup of sugar, beans, and one or two thousand hens alive. Hereupon we gat us into a bay called Cheripa, where we laded our ships with part of these commodities; and burnt the rest, ships and all: having put the men that were in them on land; and departed from thence the 10th of May.

Thus sailing forward, we hauled into a Bay called Payta, where we took a bark unrigged; and landed three score men and took the town; out of which we drave about three hundred persons which fled with bag and baggage; whom we pursued so fast, that they were forced to leave their lodgings behind them. In the end, we set their town on fire; because they sought not to redeem the same. And

because we found small store of treasure here, we came away the same night.

On the 2nd of June, we went to the island of Puna, where we trimmed our ships, and refreshed our men; though somewhat to our costs. For on the 2nd of June, our men thinking themselves to be sure and safe enough, four score or a hundred Spaniards with two hundred Indians (for there was a town of Indians in the island bigger than Gravesend) set upon fifteen or sixteen of our men, being half asleep and half awake; slew five or six, and took two or three of them, before any supply [*supports*] could come unto them: at the coming whereof, they all ran away like greyhounds.

Our men for revenge burnt their town, and spoiled their fields and gardens: but first we took the fruits of the island as goats, hogs, hens, figs, oranges, lemons, besides other wholesome herbs in great quantity.

So after we had trimmed our fleet, we came away. But for a farewell, we first set four of their ships on fire, whereof one was of 200 tons, the rest of a 100 a piece: being all upon the stocks a building. We also fired another of 400 tons, called the *Great Saint Luce*, riding before the town, to be mended: because they have never another so good a place to bring their ships aground as that is, on all the coast of Peru.

After that we had taken in fresh water, we went from thence the 11th day of June; and the 12th day we passed the equinoctial line, continuing our course northward all that month.

About the beginning of July, as we ranged along the back side of New Spain, near unto Guatemala, where there is an hill that burneth continually: we escried a new ship of 200 tons; wherein were two Spaniards, two Marseilleans, two Venetians, and one Fleming. In which ship was little or nothing, but her ballast. We took her sails, ropes, and firewood to serve our turns, set her on fire, and kept the men; of which number, we brought one, called MICHAEL SANCIUS, a pilot into England.

On the next day, we took another ship, the men being escaped with their boat on land; which, after we had taken certain victuals out of her, we also set on fire. This was the ship of *adviso*, to give warning of us, sent from Lima to the coast of New Spain.

The 28th of July, we came to the port of Aguatulco [*Acapulco*], in which we found a ship laden with cocoa, a fruit like almonds much esteemed in those parts: and taking the spoil thereof, we set the ship and town on fire for company. The people ran away at the sight of our little pinnace, our ships lying three leagues off at that time. There were some four score houses in this town, being a haven that belongeth to Mexico. In this place we had great store of pitch, which stood us in great stead for our ships; and some quantity of Wine of Castile, as they call it.

The 4th day of August, we departed from this place: and coming forth, we took a she tortoise which had about four hundred and odd eggs in her; which eggs we eat, and found them to be good meat.

The 13th of August, we fell in with a haven of New Spain called Puerto de Natividad, about 19° [N.] Lat.; where we had conference with four Indians. There we took the post of *adviso*, that ran by land on horse; whose horse we slew, and took him prisoner.

We burnt two ships of 200 tons the piece, which were in building in the harbour. And six leagues from thence, there was a little island or rock replenished with abundance of birds; whereof we got a good store, to our great refreshing: there were also innumerable sort of parrots as big as hens. In another haven hard by, called Puerto de Santo Jago, we dragged for pearls, and took some store.

The 3rd of September, we came away; having trimmed our pinnace, which was wonderful leaky with worms.

The 8th day of the same, we came into a bay called the Bay of Compostella, where our men went two leagues up into the country early in the morning; and took a Spaniard and his wife, a Ragusean and his wife, with an Indian and his wife; and brought them away unto our General: who set the women at liberty, and they redeemed their husbands with fruits as plantains, mamejas, pineapples, oranges and lemons; of all which there is great abundance; as the Spaniard said *tanto como terra*, "as plenty as there is of earth."

On the 12th of September, we came to an island, two leagues from thence, called Saint Andrew; where we had fowls and seals and *guanos*, of which we made very good

victuals: howbeit they would scarcely take the salt but for a night and a day only.

The 16th of the same month, we came into a bay called Mazatlan, where we had fruit and fish: but were in great danger of our enemies.

We traversed from thence unto the southernmost Cape of California [*Cape Saint Lucas*]; where beating up and down, we discovered a port called by the Spaniards *Agua Secura*, and found good store of fresh water.

We lay off and on this Cape until the 4th of November, on which day in the morning we espied the goodly ship coming from the Philippines called *Saint Anna the Great*, being of 700 tons. We chased her until noon; so fetching her up, we gave them fight to the loss of twelve or fourteen of their men, and the spoil and hurt of many more of them: whereupon at last they yielded unto us. In this conflict, we lost only two of our men.

So on the 6th of the said November, we went into the Port of Agua Secura; where we anchored, and put nine score prisoners on land: and ransacking the great ship, we laded our own *two* ships with forty tons of the chiefest merchandise, and burnt all the rest, as well ship as goods to the quantity of 600 tons of rich merchandise: because we were not able to bring it away. This was one of the richest vessels that ever sailed on the seas; and was able to have made many hundreds wealthy, if we had had means to have brought it home.

At length, having furnished ourselves with water and wood, and made us ready for the sea, we set sail the 20th of November; and came away. From Cape California, we shaped our course to the islands of the Ladrones; and by the providence of GOD we came unto them in two and forty days, the distance being 2,300 leagues.

The first island of the Ladrones, where we touched [1st or 2nd of January 1588] was Guam. The inhabitants are thievish and treacherous. They met us at sea three leagues off, in small canoes admirable to behold for their swiftness in sailing; with which people we had some traffic until the evening. So we left them, directing our course unto the islands of the Philippines until the 14th January, on which day we fell in with an island called Tadaia; and from thence,

we passed by the island of Luzon or Manilla, until we came to an island called Capul; where we had hens, hogs, potatoes, cocoas, and other fruits, by traffic with the Indians; making our abode there until the 24th of the aforesaid January.

Then proceeding on our voyage through the infinite number of islands towards those rich islands of the Moluccas; we passed by Mindanao, which is the last island that the Spaniards inhabit that way. So we ran between Celebes or Batachina, and Borneo until the 12th day of February.

And on the 28th and last of the same, we put through between the Straits of Java *major* and Java *minor* [*i.e. the Straits of Sunda*] and anchored under the south-west part of Java *major*: where the inhabitants, being Gentiles [*heathen*], brought unto us hens, geese, hens' eggs, ducks' eggs, beeves [*oxens*], buffes [*buffalos*], melons, plantains, and a hundred sorts of fruit most strange and wonderful for greatness and goodness; even whole junks' full, being a kind of barks made like unto our barges. These people did intreat us wonderfully well, and came as duly to traffic with us in our ship as we do in our markets and shops; and brought from their King divers presents to our General, and carried divers rich gifts from our General to their King.

The King sent many of his kinsmen and chief courtiers a shipboard to entertain him [*i.e., Master* CAVENDISH], being men of very good behaviour. They sit cross legged. They would fain have had our General come to the King's chief town; because he was not well able to come down to our ship, being a man of great age, and as they reported very near 150 years old: but our General excused himself, and that with reason. He would have sent his son in his own stead; but that he was at war against another King in the island, their enemy. This old King's name was Rajah BOLAMBOAM.

The 16th of March, we set sail from Java *major* toward the Cape of Good Hope; and on the 11th day of May, we fell [*in*] with the land of Ethiopia near unto a place called False Cape, being thirty and odd leagues from the Cape of Good Hope.

On the 19th of May, we had sight of the Cape of Good

Hope, which is the promontory that all travellers desire to double.

The 7th of June, we fell [in] with the island of Saint Helena, and on the 8th day, we anchored under it: where we continued twelve days, finding it a place to our great contentment; for there we had goats, hogs, figs, oranges, lemons, pomegranates, and many wholesome herbs for the gathering. But he that will have of the cattle [*i.e., the goats and hogs*] must travel a mile and a half into the steepy mountain to kill them. We found a church, and thirty or forty houses built to lodge the Portuguese, in their coming from the East Indies. There was only one banished man there, which lived as a hermit: but he was dead before our arrival.[a]

[a] *JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN who reached Saint Helena, on his return home from Goa in a Portuguese Carrack, the* Santa Cruz *of* 1,600 *tons, on the* 12*th May* 1589 (*eleven months after* CAVENDISH *had, by adopting the return Portuguese track from the Cape, discovered it to the English Nation*), *gives the following account of the Circumnavigator's voyage.*

About three months before our arrival at Saint Helena, there had been a ship, which the year before set out of Ormuz, with the goods and men that remained in the *San Salvador*; that had been saved by the Portuguese army, on the coast of Abex, and brought into Ormuz. That ship had wintered in the Mozambique, and had passed very soon by the Cape; and so sailed without any company into Portugal: having left some of her sick men in the island, as the manner is, which the next ships that came thither must take into them.

These gave us intelligence, that about four [*or rather eleven*] months before our arrival, there had been an English ship at the island of Saint Helena; which had sailed through the Straits of Magellan, and through the South Seas, and from thence to the isles of Philippines; and had passed through the Straits of Sunda that lieth beyond Malacca, between the islands of Sumatra and Java. In the which way, she had taken a ship of China, such as they call Junks, laden with silver and gold and all kinds of silks: and that she sent a letter with a small present to the Bishop of Malacca, telling him, "That she sent him that of friendship, meaning to come herself and visit him."

Out of that ship of China, they took a Portuguese pilot: and so passed the Cape of Good Hope, and came to the island of Saint Helena. Where they took in fresh water and other necessaries, and beat down the altar and the cross that stood in the church; and left behind them a kettle and a sword, which the Portuguese at our arrival found there. Yet could they not conceive, or think, what that might mean? Some thought it was left there for a sign to some other ships of his company: but every man may think what he will thereof.

[*The kettle and sword probably meant nothing at all; being simply left behind.*]

The 20th of June, we departed from the island of Saint Helena; shaping our course from thence for England.

The 4th of July, we passed the equinoctial line: which was the fourth time that we had traversed the same in this our journey.

The 24th of August, we had sight of two islands of the Azores, the one called Flores, the other Corvo; and directed our way from them for the Lizard until the 3rd of September: [where] at which time we espied a Flemish Hulk that came from Portugal, which told us the joyful news of our Fleet's good success against the huge army of the Spaniards [*the Spanish Armada*].

And on the 5th day, we met with a ship of Southampton, which had taken a Brazilian prize: whose Captain informed us at large of the truth of that which had passed. We took some refreshing of them: which was recompensed with treble courtesy.

And so entered into the Narrow Seas, where we had as terrible a night as ever men endured. For all our sails were blown quite away, but making as good shift as we could with certain old sails we had within board: on the next morning, being the 10th of September 1588, like wearied men, through the favour of the Almighty, we got into Plymouth; where the townsmen received us with all humanity.

In this voyage, we burnt twenty sails of Spanish ships, besides divers of their towns and villages.

A letter of Master THOMAS CA[VE]NDISH, to the Right Honourable [Lord HUNSDON] the Lord Chamberlain, one of Her Majesty's most honourable Privy Council; touching the success of his Voyage about the World.

[HAKLUYT'S *Voyages*. 1589.]

RIGHT HONOURABLE.

AS YOUR favour heretofore hath been most greatly extended towards me; so I humbly desire a continuance thereof: and though there be no means in me to deserve the same; yet the uttermost of my services shall not be wanting, whensoever it shall please your Honour to dispose thereof.

I am humbly to desire your Honour to make known unto Her Majesty the desire I have had to do Her Majesty service in the performance. And as it hath pleased GOD to give her the victory over part of her enemies: so I trust, ere long, to see her overthrow them all.

For the places of their wealth, whereby they have maintained and made their wars, are now perfectly discovered: and if it please Her Majesty, with a very small power, she may take the spoil of them all.

It hath pleased the Almighty to suffer me to circumpass the whole Globe of the World; entering in at the Straits of Magellan, and returning by the Cape of Good Hope. In which voyage, I have either discovered or brought certain intelligence of all the rich places of the world that ever were known or discovered by any Christian.

I navigated along the coasts of Chili, Peru, and New Spain, where I made great spoils. I burnt and sunk nineteen ships, great and small. All the villages and towns that ever I landed at, I burnt and spoiled. And had I not been discovered upon the coast, I had taken great quantity of treasure.

The matter of most profit unto me was a great ship of the King's, which I took at California; which ship came from the Philippines, being one of the richest of merchandise that ever passed those seas, as the King's Register and the Merchants' Accounts did show: for it did amount in value to [*sum omitted*] in Mexico to be sold. Which goods, for that my ships were not able to contain the least part of them, I was enforced to set on fire.

From the Cape of California, being the uttermost part of all New Spain, I navigated to the islands of the Philippines, hard upon the coast of China: of which country I have brought such intelligence as hath not been heard of in these parts. The stateliness and riches of which country I fear to make report of; least I should not be credited. For if I had not known sufficiently the incomparable wealth of that country, I should have been as incredulous thereof as others will be, that have not had the like experience.

I sailed along the islands of the Moluccas; where among some of the heathen people, I was well intreated. Where our countrymen may have trade as freely as the Portuguese, if they will themselves.

From thence, I passed by the Cape of Good Hope: and found out, by the way homeward, the island of Saint Helena, where the Portuguese use to relieve [*refresh*] themselves. And from that island, GOD hath suffered me to return into England.

All which services, with myself, I humbly prostrate at Her Majesty's feet; desiring the Almighty long to continue her reign amongst us. For at this day, she is the most famous and victorious Prince that liveth in the world.

Thus humbly desiring pardon of your Honour, for my tediousness; I leave your Lordship to the tuition of the Almighty.

Plymouth, this 9th of September 1588.

Your Honour's most humble to command,

THOMAS CANDISH.

To the Right Honourable Sir FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, Principal Secretary to Her Majesty.

[*Harl. MS.* 286, *fol.* 161.]

THE SPECIAL regard which it pleaseth your Honour to respect me with, can by no means of mine be desired; neither can I express what comfort I receive by these your favours done unto me. My desire is to be thankful, but I have no means to manifest the same, but only in honouring and serving you above all others; which opinion I most humbly desire your Honour to hold of me.

Of late, I have not been very well; but at this present I thank GOD I am much better than I was: yet not in such perfect health, but that I mean to use the help of the physician; for whose coming unto me, I am most heartily bound unto your Honour.

I have had courtesy showed me by your officers for the custom [*import duty*] of my goods; which amounteth to £900 [=*almost* £5,000 *in present value*]. There be some things which I have kept from their sight, for special causes; which I mean to make known to your Honour at my coming to London. For I protest, before GOD, that I will not hide any

one thing from you; neither concerning the quantity of my goods, nor the secrets of the voyage: which, in many things, shall not be known but unto your Honour; for they be matters of great importance.

And thus giving you most humble thanks for your great favours done unto me, I humbly take my leave.

Plymouth, this 8th of October 1588.

Your Honour's most humbly to command,

THOMAS CAVENDYSSH.

Three Ballads, now lost, relating to this Voyage were entered for publication at Stationers' Hall at the following dates.

3 *NOVEMBER* 1588.

A ballad of Master CAVENDISH's Voyage, who by travel compassed the Globe of the World, arriving in England with abundance of treasure.

14 *NOVEMBER* 1588.

A new Ballad of the famous and honourable coming of Master CAVENDISH's ship, called the Desire, *before the Queen's Majesty at her Court at Greenwich, the 12th of November* 1588, *&c.*

3 *DECEMBER* 1588.

Captain ROBERTS's *Welcome of good will to Captain CAVENDISH.*

It is not expressly stated that this *Welcome* was a Ballad: but it would seem so from the title.

Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D. II. 505–509, *Ed.* 1875.

The first Englishmen who reached India, overland.

1583–1589 A.D.

Hereafter follow the narratives of the first Englishmen who are known to have reached India overland; *via* Aleppo, Bagdad, Bussorah, and Ormus.

These narratives all relate to quite an organized expedition of English traders, who were sent by two of the merchant princes of London at that time, with the clear intention, that some of them at least should reach the far East, and open a direct trade between India and England.

John Eldred's *narrative.*

[Hakluyt's *Voyages*, ii. 1599.]

Departed out of London in the ship called the *Tiger*, in the company of Master John Newbery, Master Ralph Fitch and six or seven other honest merchants, on Shrove Monday [12 *February*] 1583; and arrived at Tripolis of Syria, the 1st day of May next ensuing. At our landing, we went a Maying upon St. George's Island, a place where Christians dying on board the ships [at that place], are wont to be buried.

In this city, our English merchants have a Consul, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called *Fondeghi Ingles*, built of stone, square in manner like a cloister; and every man hath his several chamber: as is the use there of all other Christians, of several nations.

This town standeth under a part of the mountain of Lebanon, two English miles from the port: on the side of which port, trending in form of a half moon, stand five block-houses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery; and the forts are kept with about a hundred Janissaries. Right before this town from the seaward is a bank of moving sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the western winds, in such sort, that, according to an old prophecy among them, this bank is likely to swallow up and overwhelm the town: for every year it increaseth, and eateth up many gardens; although they use all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firm ground.

The city is about the bigness of Bristol, and walled about; though the walls be of no great force. The chief strength of the place is in the Citadel, which standeth on the south side, within the walls, and overlooketh the whole town. It is strongly kept with two hundred Janissaries, and good artillery. A river passeth through the midst of the city, wherewith they water their gardens and mulberry trees, on which there grow abundance of silk worms; wherewith they make a very great quantity of very white silk, which is the chief natural commodity to be found in and about this place.

This road [*haven*] is more frequented with Christian merchants, to wit, Venetians, Genoese, Florentines, Marseillians, Sicilians, Raguseans, and lately with Englishmen, than any other port of the Turk's dominions.

From Tripolis, I departed, the 14th of May, with a caravan; passing, in three days, over the ridge of Mount Lebanon. At the end whereof, we arrived in a city called Hammah; which standeth on a goodly plain, replenished with corn and cotton wool [*i.e., cotton in the pod*]. On these mountains, grow a great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our oaks, but lesser and more crooked. On the best tree, a man shall not find a pound's weight of galls. This town of Hammah is fallen, and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day [1583] there is scarce one half of the wall standing: which hath been very strong and fair. But because it cost many men's lives to win it, the Turk will not have it repaired; and hath written, in Arabic, over the Castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the town, these words

Cursed be the father and the son that shall lay their hands to the repairing hereof.

Refreshing ourselves one day here, we passed forward with camels, three days more, until we came to Aleppo: where we arrived the 21st of May. This is the greatest place of traffic, for a dry town [*i.e., an inland town, not on a great river*] that there is in all these parts. For hither resort Jews, Tartars, Persians, Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many other sorts of Christians; and enjoy freedom of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich merchandise. In the midst of this town also, standeth a goodly Castle, raised on high, with a garrison of four or five hundred Janissaries. Within four miles round about, are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which bear goodly fruit near unto the side of the river, which is but small. The walls are about three English miles in compass; but the suburbs are almost as much more. The town is greatly peopled.

We departed from thence, with our camels, on the 31st of May, with Master JOHN NEWBERY and his company; and came to Bir in three days, being a small town situated upon the river Euphrates; where it beginneth first to take that name, being here gathered into one channel; whereas, before, it cometh down in manifold branches, and therefore is called by the people of the country by a name which signifieth "a thousand heads." Here are plenty of victuals, whereof we all furnished ourselves for a long journey down the aforesaid river. And according to the manner of those that travel by water, we prepared a small bark for the conveyance of ourselves and our goods. These boats are flat bottomed because the river is shallow in many places: and when men travel in the months of July, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are constrained to carry with them a spare boat or two to lighten their own boats, if they chance to fall on the shoals.

We were eight and twenty days upon the water, between Bir, and Felugia [*Feluja*], where we disembarked ourselves and our goods. Every night, after the sun had set; we tied our bark to a stake, went on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or bruised wheat. Having supped, the merchants lay

aboard the bark; and the mariners upon the shore's side, as near as they can unto the same. In many places upon the river's side, we met with troops of Arabs, of whom we bought milk, butter, eggs, and lambs; and gave them in barter (for they care not for money), glasses, combs, coral, amber, to hang about their arms and necks; and for churned milk, we gave them bread, and pomegranate peels wherewith they use [*are accustomed*] to tan their goats' skins, with which they churn. Their hair, apparel, and colour are altogether like to those vagabond Egyptians [*Gipsies*] which heretofore have gone about in England. All their women, without exception, wear a great round ring in one of their nostrils, of gold, silver, or iron, according to their ability; and about their arms, and the smalls of their legs they have hoops of gold, silver, or iron. All of them, as well women and children as men, are very great swimmers; and oftentimes swimming, they brought us milk to our bark, in vessels upon their heads. Those people are very thievish, which I proved to my cost; for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value in the same, from under my man's head as he was asleep: and therefore travellers keep good watch as they pass down the river. The Euphrates at Bir is about the breath of the Thames at Lambeth; and, in some places narrower, in some broader, it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast as the river Trent. It hath divers sorts of fish in it; but all are scaled, and some are as big as salmon, like barbel.

We landed at Felugia, the 28th of June, where we made our abode for seven days, for lack of camels to carry our goods to Babylon [*Bagdad*]. The heat, at that time of the year, is such in those parts, that men are loath to let their camels travel. This Felugia is a village of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for the discharging of such goods as come down the river. The inhabitants are Arabs. Not finding camels here: we were constrained to unlade our goods, and hired a hundred asses to carry our English merchandise only to New Babylon over a short desert; in crossing whereof we spent eighteen hours, travelling by night and part of the morning, to avoid the great heat.

In this place which we crossed over, stood the old mighty city of Babylon, many old ruins whereof are easily to be seen by daylight: which I, JOHN ELDRED, have often beheld at

my good leisure: having made three voyages between the new city of Babylon and Aleppo, over this desert.

Here also are yet standing the ruins of the old Tower of Babel, which, being upon a plain ground, seemeth afar off very great; but the nearer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth. Sundry times I have gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing, above a quarter of a mile in compass, and almost as high as the stone work of [Saint] Paul's steeple in London; but it showeth much bigger. The bricks remaining of this most ancient monument be half a yard thick, and three quarters of a yard long; being dried in the sun only: and between every course of bricks, there lieth a course of mats, made of canes, which remain sound and not perished, as though they had been laid within one year.

The city of New Babylon joineth upon the aforesaid small desert where the old city was; and the river Tigris runneth close under the wall: so they may, if they will, open a sluice, and let the water of the same run round about the town. It is above two English miles in compass; and the inhabitants generally speak three languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian, and Turkish tongues. The people are of the Spaniards' complexion: and the women generally wear in one of the gristles of their noses, a ring like a wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearl and a Turkish stone set therein; and this they do, be they ever so poor.

This is a place of very great traffic, and a very great thoroughfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The town is very well furnished with victuals which come down the river Tigris from Mosul, which was called Nineveh in old time. They bring these victuals and divers sorts of merchandise upon rafts borne upon goats' skins blown up full of wind, in the manner of bladders: and when they have discharged their goods, they sell the rafts for fire[wood]; let the wind out of their goat-skins, and carry them home again upon their asses by land, to make other voyages down the river. The building here is mostly of brick dried in the sun; and very little or no stone is to be found. Their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They have no rain for eight months together, nay, hardly any clouds in the sky, night nor day. Their winter is in November, December, January, and February;

which is as warm as our summer in England, in a manner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at several times, in the city of Babylon [*Bagdad*], hath been, at the least, the space of two years. As we come to the city, we pass over the river Tigris, on a great bridge, made with boats chained together with two mighty chains of iron.

From thence we departed in flat-bottomed barks, stronger and greater than those of Euphrates, and were twenty-eight days also in passing down this river to Balsora [*Bussorah*]: but we might have done it in eighteen or less, if the water had been higher.

Upon the water's side stand, by the way, divers towns much resembling the names of the old prophets. The first town they call Ozeah, and another Zecchiah.

Before we come to Balsora, by one day's journey, the two rivers Tigris and Euphrates meet; and there standeth a castle called Curna [*Kurnah*] kept by the Turks; where all merchants pay a small custom. Here the two rivers, joined together, began to be eight or nine miles broad. Here also it beginneth to ebb and flow; and the water overflowing, maketh the country all about very fertile of corn, rice, pulse, and dates.

The town of Balsora is a mile and a half in circuit. All the buildings, castles, and walls are made of brick, dried in the sun. The Turk hath here five hundred Janissaries, besides other soldiers, continually in garrison and pay: but his chief strength is of galleys; which are about twenty-five or thirty, very fair, and furnished with goodly ordnance.

To this port of Balsora, come, monthly, divers ships from Ormus, laden with all sorts of Indian merchandise, as spices, drugs, indico [*indigo*], and Calicut cloth. These ships are usually from forty to sixty tons, having their planks sown together with cord made of the bark of date trees, and instead of occam [*oakum*], they use the shiverings [*shreds*] of the bark of the said trees; and of the same also they make their tackling. They have no kind of iron work belonging to these vessels, save only their anchors.

From this place, six days' sailing down the Gulf, they go to a place called Bahrem [*Bahrein*], in the midway to Ormus.

There, they fish for pearls four months in the year, to wit, June, July, August, and September.

My abode in Balsora was just six months [*August* 1583–*February* 1584], during which time, I received divers letters from Master JOHN NEWBERY from Ormus: who, as he passed that way, with Her Majesty's letters to *Zelabdim* [*the glorious*] AKBAR, King of Cambaia, and unto the mighty Emperor of China, was there treacherously arrested, with all his company, by the Portuguese; and afterwards sent prisoner to Goa: where, after a long and cruel imprisonment, he and his companions were delivered, upon sureties not to depart the town without leave, at the suit of one Father THOMAS STEVENS an English religious man, whom they found there.

But, shortly after, three of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, Master RALPH FITCH, is since come into England. The fourth, who was a painter, called JOHN STORY, became religious in the College of Saint Paul in Goa; as we understood by their letters.

I and my companion WILLIAM SHALES, having despatched our business at Balsora, embarked ourselves in a company of seventy barks, all laden with merchandise; every bark having fourteen men to draw them, like our Western bargemen on the Thames: and we were forty-four days coming up the stream to Babylon. Where arriving, and paying our custom, we, with all other sorts of merchants, bought us camels, hired us men to lade and drive them; furnished ourselves with rice, butter, biscuit, honey made of dates, onions, and dates: and every merchant brought a proportion of live muttons [*sheep*], and hired certain shepherds to drive them with us. We also brought us tents to lie in, and to put our goods under. In this our caravan were four thousand camels laden with spices and other rich merchandise. These camels will live very well two or three days without water. Their feeding is on thistles, wormwood, magdalene, and other strong weeds which they find upon the way. The government and deciding of all quarrels and duties to be paid, the whole caravan committeth to one special[ly] rich

merchant of the company; of whose honesty they conceive best.

In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty days: travelling twenty or twenty-four miles a day, resting ourselves commonly from two o'clock in the afternoon until three in the morning, at which time we began to take our journey.

Eight days' journey from Babylon towards Aleppo, near unto a town called Heit [*Hit*], as we cross the river Euphrates by boats, about three miles from the town, there is a valley where are many springs [*i.e., of bitumen*] throwing out abundantly, at great mouths, a kind of black substance like unto tar, which serveth all the country to make staunch their barks and boats. Every one of these springs maketh a noise like unto a smith's forge in the blowing and puffing out of this matter, which never ceaseth, day or night; and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. The vale swalloweth up all heavy things that come upon it. The people of the country call it, in their language, *Babil Gehenham*, that is to say, "Hell Door."

As we passed through these deserts, we saw certain wild beasts, as, wild asses all white, roebucks, wolves, leopards, foxes, and many hares; whereof we chased and killed many. ABORISE, the King of the wandering Arabs in these deserts, hath a duty of 40*s.*[=£12 *now*] sterling, upon every camel's load; which he sendeth his officers to receive of the caravans: and, in consideration hereof, he taketh upon him to conduct the said caravans, if they need his help, and to defend them against certain prowling thieves.

I and my companion WILLIAM SHALES came to Aleppo with the caravan, the 11th of June, 1584; where we were joyfully received, twenty miles distant from the town, by Master WILLIAM BARRET, our Consul, accompanied with his people and Janissaries. Who fell sick immediately, and departed this life, within eight days after: and elected, before his death, Master ANTHONY BATE, Consul of our English nation, in his place; who laudably supplied the same room three years.

In which mean time, I made two more voyages to Babylon, and returned, by the way aforesaid, over the deserts of Arabia.

And afterwards, as one desirous to see other parts of the country, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence sixty English miles; and from thence, went down to Tripolis: where, going aboard a small vessel, I arrived at Joppa, and travelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, to the river Jordan, and the sea or lake of Sodom, and returned back to Joppa; and from thence, by sea, to Tripolis. Of which places, because many others have published large discourses, I surcease to write.

Within a few days after, embarking myself at Tripolis, the 22nd of December [1587], I arrived, GOD be thanked! in safety here, in the river Thames, with divers English merchants, the 26th of March 1588, in the *Hercules* of London; which was the richest ship of English merchants' goods, that ever was known to come into this realm.

RALPH FITCH'S *Voyage to the East Indies and back* 1583–1591, A.D.

WITH

JOHN NEWBERY'S *letters.*

At the expense of some little repetition, FITCH's Narrative is printed entire, until his departure from Goa: after which all descriptions of places, &c., are omitted, and simply an outline of his travels given. The several letters are inserted in this Narrative, under their respective dates.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR AKBAR.

February, 1583.

ELIZABETH, *by the grace of GOD*, &c., *to the most invincible, and most mighty Prince, Lord Zelabdim* [the glorious] AKBAR, *King of Cambaia, invincible Emperor*, &c.

The great affection which our subjects have to visit the most distant places of the world (not without good will and

intention to introduce the trade of merchandise of all nations, whatsoever they can; by which means, the mutual and friendly traffic of merchandise, on both sides, may come) is the cause that the bearer of this letter, JOHN NEWBERY, jointly with those that be in his company, with a courteous and honest boldness, doth repair to the borders and countries of your Empire. We doubt not that your Imperial Majesty, through your royal grace, will favourably and friendly accept him. And that you would do it rather for our sake, to make us greatly beholding to your Majesty, we should more earnestly, and with more words require it, if we did think it needful: but, by the singular report that is of your Imperial Majesty's humanity in these uttermost parts of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden; and therefore we use the fewer and less words. Only we request that because they are our subjects, they may be honestly intreated [treated] *and received: and that, in respect of the hard journey, which they have undertaken to places so far distant; it would please your Majesty, with some liberty and security of voyage to gratify it with such privileges as to you shall seem good. Which courtesy if your Imperial Majesty shall, to our subjects, at our requests, perform; We, according to our royal honour, will recompense the same with as many deserts as we can.*

And herewith, We bid your Imperial Majesty farewell.

QUEEN ELIZABETH'S LETTER TO THE EMPEROR OF CHINA.

ELIZABETH, by the grace of GOD, Queen of England, &c. Most Imperial and invincible Prince! Our honest subject, JOHN NEWBERY, the bringer hereof, who, with our favour, hath taken in hand the voyage which now he pursueth to the parts and countries of your Empire; not trusting upon any other ground than upon the favour of your Imperial clemency and humanity, is moved to undertake a thing of so much difficulty, being persuaded that he having entered on so many perils, your Majesty will not dislike the same: especially if it may appear that it be not damageable unto your Royal Majesty; and that to your

people it will bring some profit. Of both which things he, not doubting, with more willing mind, hath prepared himself for his destinated voyage, unto us well liked of.

For, by this means, we perceive that the profit, which, by the mutual trade, on both sides, all the princes, our neighbours in the West, do receive, your Imperial Majesty and those that be subject under your dominion, to their great joy and benefit, shall have the same: which consisteth in the transporting outward of such things, whereof we have plenty; and in bringing in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot otherwise be, but that, seeing we are born and made to have need one of another, and that we are bound to aid one another; but that your Imperial Majesty will well like of it, and by your subjects with like endeavour will be accepted.

For the increase whereof, if your Imperial Majesty shall add the security of passage, with other privileges most necessary to use the trade with your men, your Majesty shall do that which belongeth to a most honourable and liberal Prince; and deserve so much of Us, as by no continuance or length of time shall be forgotten.

Which request of ours, We do most instantly desire to be taken in good part of your Majesty; and so great a benefit towards Us and our men, We shall endeavour, by diligence, to requite, when time shall serve thereunto.

The God Almighty long preserve your Imperial Majesty!

IN THE year of our Lord 1583, I, RALPH FITCH, of London, merchant (being desirous to see the countries of the East India), in the company of Master JOHN NEWBERY, merchant, who had been at Ormus once before,* of WILLIAM LEEDES, jeweller, and JAMES STORY, painter—being chiefly set forth by the Right Worshipful Sir EDWARD OSBORNE, knight, and Master RICHARD STAPERS, citizens and merchants of London—did ship myself in a ship of London, called the *Tiger*, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria.

And from thence, we took the way for Aleppo; which we went in seven days with the caravan.

* Evidently NEWBERY first went out in the Bark *Reynolds* in 1580 or 1581.

MASTER JOHN NEWBERY, FROM ALEPPO, 28TH MAY, 1583, TO MASTER RICHARD HAKLUYT OF OXFORD.

RIGHT WELL BELOVED, & MY ASSURED GOOD FRIEND,

HEARTILY commend me unto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set sail from Gravesend, which was the 13th of February [1583] last, we remained on the coast till the 11th day of March, and that day we set sail from Falmouth, and never anchored till we arrived in the road of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April last past; where we stayed fourteen days. And the 20th of this present, we came hither to Aleppo; and, with GOD's help, within five or six days, go from hence towards the Indies.

Since my coming to Tripolis, I have made very earnest inquiry, both there and here, for the book of *Cosmography* of ABULFIDA ISMAEL; but, by no means, can hear of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not fail to make inquiry for it, both in Babylon and in Balsora; and if I can find it in any of these places, I will send it you from thence.

The letter which you delivered me for to copy out, that came from Master THOMAS STEVENS in Goa. [*STEVENS arrived at Goa on the 4th November*, 1579], as also the note you gave me of FRANCIS FERNANDEZ the Portuguese; I brought thence with me, among other writings, unawares. The which I have sent you here inclosed.

Here is great preparation for the wars in Persia; and from thence is gone the Pasha of a town named Rahemet, and, shortly after, goeth the Pasha of Tripolis and the Pasha of Damascus: but they have not with them all, above six thousand men from hence. They go to a town called Asmerome [? *Erzroum*], which is three days' journey from Trebizond; where they shall meet with divers captains and soldiers that come from Con-

stantinople and other places thereabout: and then go all together into Persia.

This year, many men go to the wars; and so hath there every year since the beginning thereof, which is eight years or thereabouts: but very few of them return again. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians; and make castles and holds in their country.

I pray you! make my hearty commendations to Master Peter Guillame, Master Philip Jones, and to Master Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended unto you. So I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty, who bless and keep you! and send us a joyful meeting!

From Aleppo, the 28th of May, 1583.

Your loving friend to command, in all that I may,

John Newbery.

Master John Newbery, from Aleppo, 29th May, 1583, to Master Leonard Poore of London.

Right well beloved,

MY hearty commendations unto you, and the rest of my friends remembered.

My last, I sent you, was the 25th of February [1583] last, from Deal, out of the Downs. After which time, with contrary winds, we remained upon our own coast until the 11th day of March: and then we set sail from Falmouth, and the 13th day, the wind came contrary with a very great storm, which continued eight days; and in this great storm we had some of our goods wet, but, GOD be thanked! no great hurt done.

After which time, we sailed with a fair wind within the Straits [of Gibralter], and so remained at sea, and anchored at no place until our coming into the road of Tripolis in Syria; which was the last day of April [1583]. This was a very good passage. GOD make us thankful for it!

The 14th day of this present, we came from Tripolis, and the 20th day, arrived here at Aleppo; and, with the

help of GOD, to-morrow or next day, we begin our voyage towards Babylon and Balsora, and so into India.

Our friend Master BARRET hath him commended to you: who hath sent you, in the *Emanuel*, a ball of nutmegs for the small trifles you sent him; which I hope, long since, you have received.

Also he hath, by his letter, certified you in what order he sold those things: whereof I can say nothing, because I have not seen the account thereof, neither have demanded it: for ever since our coming here, he hath been still busy about the despatch of the ship [*i.e.*, *the* Tiger *back to England*], and our voyage; and I, likewise, in buying of things here to carry to Balsora and the Indies.

We have bought in currall [? *coral*] for twelve hundred and odd ducats [*at* 6 *larines* (*p.* 184), *i.e.*, 6*s. each*=£360 *then*=*about* £2,160 *now*] and ambergreese for four hundred ducats [=£120 *then*=*about* £720 *now*], and some soap, and broken glass, with other small trifles: all which things I hope will serve very well for those places we shall go unto.

All the rest of the account of the bark *Reynolds* was sent home in the *Emanuel*; which was 3,600 ducats which is £200 more than it was rated [at]. For Master STAPER rated it but [at] £1,100, and it is £1,300: so that our part is £200; besides such profit, as it shall please GOD to send thereof. Wherefore you shall do well, to speak to Master STAPER for the account.

And if you would content yourself to travel for three or four years, I would wish you to come hither; or to go to Cairo, if any go thither. For we doubt not, if you remained there but three or four months, you will like so well of the place, that I think you would not desire to return again in three or four years. And, if it should be my chance to remain in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthful and pleasant, and the gains very good; and, no doubt, the profit will be hereafter better, things being used in good order: for there should come in every ship the fourth part of her cargason [*cargo*] in money; which would help to put away our commodities

at a very good price. Also, to have two very good ships to come together, would do very well: for, in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accounted as little as from London to Antwerp.

Master GILES PORTER and Master EDMUND PORTER went from Tripolis in a small bark, to Jaffa, the same day that we came from thence; which was the 14th day of this present: so that, no doubt, but, long since, they are in Jerusalem. GOD send them and us safe return!

At this instant, I have received the account of Master BARRET, and the rest of the rings, with 22 ducats, 2 medins [*at 40 medins the ducat of 6s.=£6 12s. 3d. then= about £40 now*], in ready money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few books. With THOMAS BOSTOCK, I left certain small trifles; which, I pray you, demand!

And so, once again, with my hearty commendations, I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty, who always preserve us! From Aleppo, the 29th of May, 1583.

Yours assured,

JOHN NEWBERY.

Being in Aleppo, and finding good company: we went from thence to Bir, which is two days and a half travel with camels.

Bir is a little town, but very plentiful of victuals: and near to the wall of the town, runneth the river Euphrates. Here we bought a boat: and agreed with a master and bargemen to go to Babylon. These boats be but for one voyage: for the stream doth run so fast downwards that they cannot return. They carry you to a town which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boat for a little money. That which cost you fifty at Bir, you sell there for seven or eight.

From Bir to Felugia is sixteen days' journey. It is not good that one boat go alone: for if it should chance to break, you would have much ado to save your goods from the Arabs, which be always thereabouts robbing. In the night, when your boats be made fast, it is necessary that you keep good watch: for the Arabs that be thieves, will come swimming, and steal your goods, and flee away: against which a gun is very good, for they do fear it very much.

In the river Euphrates, from Bir to Felugia, there be certain places where you custom (so many medins for a *Some* or camel's lading; and certain raisins and soap) which are for the sons of ABORISE, who is Lord of the Arabs and all that great desert, and hath some villages upon the river. Felugia, where you unlade your goods which come from Bir, is a little village, from whence you go to Babylon in a day.

Babylon [*Bagdad*] is a town not very great, but very populous, and of great traffic of strangers; for it is the way to Persia, Turkia [*Turkestan*], and Arabia: and from thence, do go caravans for these and other places. Here is great store of victuals, which come from Armenia down the river of Tigris.

Babylon, in times past, did belong to the Kingdom of Persia: but now is subject to the Turk. Over against Babylon, there is a fair village; from whence you pass to Babylon, along a bridge made of boats, and tied to a great chain of iron: which is made fast on either side of the river. When any boats are to pass up or down the river, they take away certain of the boats until they be past.

When there is great store of water in the Tigris, you may go from Babylon to Balsora, in eight or nine days. If there be small store, it will cost you the more days.

MASTER NEWBERY, FROM BAGDAD, 20TH JULY, 1583, TO MASTER LEONARD POORE, OF LONDON.

MY LAST, I sent you, was the 29th of May [1583] last past, from Aleppo, by GEORGE GILL, the Purser of the *Tiger*.

The last day of the same month, we came from thence; and arrived at Felugia, the 19th of June, which Felugia is one day's journey from hence. Notwithstanding some of our own company came not hither till the last day of the month; which was for want of camels to carry our goods. For, at this time of the year, by reason of the great heat that is here, camels are very scant to be gotten.

And since our coming hither, we have found very small sales; but divers say, that in winter, our commodities will be very well sold. I pray GOD! their words may prove true. I think cloth, kerseys, and tin have never been here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much ready money as the commodities are worth, I would not doubt to make a very good profit of this voyage hither, and to Balsora. By GOD's help, there will be reasonable profit made of the voyage; but, with half money and half commodities, may be bought here the best sort of spices and other commodities that are brought from the Indies; and without money there is here, at this instant, small good to be done.

With GOD's help, two days' hence, I mind to go from hence to Balsora; and from thence, of force, I must go to Ormus, for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue.

At my being in Aleppo, I hired two Nazaranies [? *Nestorians*], and one of them hath been twice in the Indies, and hath the language very well: but he is a very lewd fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me. From Babylon [*Bagdad*] the 20th day of July, 1583.

Yours,

JOHN NEWBERY.

Balsora, in times past, was under the Arabs, but now is subject to the Turk. Some of them, the Turk cannot subdue: for they hold certain islands in the river Euphrates which the Turk cannot win of them. They be thieves, and have no settled dwelling: but remove from place to place, with their camels, goats, and horses; wives and children and all. They have large blue gowns; their wives' ears and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and silver, and they wear rings of copper about their legs.

Balsora standeth near the Gulf of Persia, and is a town of great trade for spices and drugs, which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of wheat, rice, and dates growing thereabouts; wherewith they serve Babylon and all the country, Ormus, and all the parts of India.

I went from Balsora to Ormus, down the Gulf of Persia,

in a certain ship made of boards, and sown together with *cairo*, which is thread made of the husk of cocoa [nuts]; and certain canes or straw leaves sown upon the seams of the boards, which is the cause that they leak very much. And so having Persia always on the left hand, and the coast of Arabia on the right hand, we passed many islands: and among others, the famous island Baharem [*Bahrein*], whence come the best pearls; which be round and orient.

Ormus is an island about twenty-five or thirty miles in circuit, and is the driest island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it, but only salt. For their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary, come out of Persia; which is about twelve miles from thence. All the islands thereabout be very fruitful; from whence all kinds of victuals are sent into Ormus. The Portuguese have a Castle here which standeth near unto the sea: wherein there is a Captain for the King of Portugal, having, under him, a convenient number of soldiers; whereof some part remain in the Castle, and some in the town.

In this town, are merchants of all nations, and many Moors and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sorts of spices, drugs, silk, cloth of silk, fine tapestry of Persia; great store of pearls which come from the isle of Baharem and are the best pearls of all others; and many horses of Persia, which serve all India. They have a Moor to their King, who is chosen and governed by the Portuguese.

Here, very shortly after our arrival, we were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from us by the Captain of the Castle, whose name was Don MATTHIAS DE ALBUQUERQUE.

JOHN NEWBERY, FROM ORMUS, 21ST SEPTEMBER, 1583, TO J. ELDRED AND W. SHALES AT BUSSORAH.

RIGHT WELL BELOVED, & MY ASSURED GOOD FRIENDS,

I HEARTILY commend me unto you! hoping of your good health, *&c.* To certify of my voyage, after I departed from you, time will not permit: but the 4th of this present we arrived here, and the 10th,

I with the rest, were committed to prison; and about the middle of the next month, the Captain will send us all in his ship for Goa.

The cause why we are taken, as they say, is that I brought letters from Don ANTONIO [*who was living in England when the writer left*]: but the truth is, MICHAEL STROPENE was the only cause; upon letters that his brother wrote to him from Aleppo.

GOD knoweth how we shall be dealt withal in Goa! and therefore if you can procure our masters [*Sir EDWARD OSBORNE and Master STAPERS*] to send the King of Spain's letters for our releasement, you should do us great good: for they cannot with justice, put us to death. It may be that they will cut our throats, or keep us long in prison. GOD's will be done!

All those commodities that I brought hither, had been very well sold; if this trouble had not chance.

You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger, by land, from Balsora to Aleppo, to certify this mischance; although it cost thirty or forty crowns [=*£9 to £12 then=about £54 to £72 now*] that we may be the sooner released; and I shall be the better able to recover this again, which is now likely to be lost.

I pray you make my hearty commendations, *&c.*

From out of the Prison in Ormus, this 21st [day] of September, 1583.

JOHN NEWBERY, FROM ORMUS, 24TH SEPTEMBER, 1583, TO J. ELDRED AND W. SHALES AT BUSSORAH.

THE bark of the Jews is arrived here, two days past; by whom I know you did write: but your letters are not likely to come to my hands.

This bringer hath showed me here very great courtesy; wherefore, I pray you, show him what favour you may!

About the middle of next month, I think we shall depart from hence. GOD be our guide!

I think ANDREW will go by land to Aleppo; wherein,

I pray you, further him what you may! but if he should not go; then, I pray you, despatch away a messenger with as much speed as possibly you may.

I can say no more; but do for me, as you would I should do for you, in the like cause! And so with my very hearty commendations, *&c.*

From out of the prison in Ormus, this 24th day of September,

Yours,

JOHN NEWBERY.

From Ormus, the 11th of October, the Captain shipped us for Goa, unto the Viceroy; who, at that time, was Don FRANCESCO DE MASCHARENHAS. The ship wherein we were embarked for Goa, belonged to the Captain; and carried 124 horses in it. All merchandise carried to Goa in a ship wherein there are horses, pay no customs at Goa. The horses pay customs, the goods pay nothing: but if you come in a ship which bringeth no horses, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods.

The first city of India that, after we had passed the coast of Sind, we arrived at, upon the 5th of November, is called Diu: which standeth on an island, in the kingdom of Cambaia, and is the strongest town that the Portuguese have in those parts. It is very little, but well stored with merchandise; for here, they lade many great ships with divers commodities for the Straits of Mecca [*the Red Sea*], for Ormus, and other places: and these be shipped of the Moors and Christians; but the Moors cannot pass, except they have a passport from the Portuguese.

Going from Diu, we came to Daman, the second town of the Portuguese in the country of Cambaia; which is distant from Diu, forty leagues. Here is no trade but of corn and rice. They have many villages under them, which they quietly possess in time of peace; but in time of war, the enemy is master of them.

From thence, we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana. At both of which places, there is a small trade, but only of corn and rice.

The 10th of November, we arrived at Chaul; which standeth in the firm land. There be two towns; the one belonging

to the Portuguese, and the other to the Moors. That of the Portuguese is nearest to the sea, and commandeth the bay. It is walled round about. Here is great traffic for all sorts of spices and drugs, silk and cloth of silk, sandals, elephants' teeth [*tusks*], much China work, and much sugar is made of the nut called *Gagara*. The tree is called the Palmer, which is the most profitable tree in the world. It doth always bear fruit, and doth yield wine, oil, sugar, vinegar, cords, coals. Of the leaves, are made thatch for the houses, sails for ships, mats to sit or lie upon. Of the branches, they make their houses, and brooms to sweep [with]. Of the tree, wood for ships. The wine doth issue out of the top of the tree. They cut a branch of a bough, and bind it hard; and hang an earthen pot upon it, which they empty every morning and evening, and still [*distill*] it and put in certain dried raisins, and it becometh very strong wine in a short time.

Hither, many ships come from all parts of India, Ormus, &c.; and many from Mecca.

Goa is the principal city which the Portuguese have in India; wherein the Viceroy remaineth with his Court. It standeth on an island, which may be twenty-five or thirty miles about. It is a fine city; and for an Indian town very fair. The island is very fair, full of orchards and gardens, and many palm trees; and hath some villages. Here be many merchants of all nations. And the Fleet which cometh every year from Portugal, which be four, five, or six great ships, cometh first hither. They come, for the most part, in September, and remain there forty or fifty days; and then go to Cochin, where they lade their pepper for Portugal. Oftentimes, they lade one in Goa; and the rest go to Cochin, which is an hundred leagues southward from Goa.

At our coming [30th of November], we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Justice, and demanded for letters. We were charged to be spies; but they could prove nothing against us. We continued in prison, until the 22nd of December: and then we were set at liberty; putting in sureties for 2,000 ducats [*or rather Pardaos Xeraphines, see p.* 320, *and Vol. II. pp.* 58-64], not to depart the town, which sureties, Father STEVENS, an English Jesuit (whom we found there) and another religious man, a friend of his, procured for us.

JOHN NEWBERY, FROM GOA, 20TH JANUARY, 1584, TO MASTER LEONARD POORE, OF LONDON.

This and the following letter were warily written; so as not to compromise the writers with the Jesuit priests, if they had been detected and read.

MY LAST I sent you, was from Ormus, whereby I certified you, what was happened unto me and the rest of my company: which was that, four days after our arrival there, we were all committed to prison; except one Italian who came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captain never examined, but only demanded "What countryman he was?" But I make account, MICHAEL STROPENE, who accused us, had informed the Captain of him.

The first day we arrived there, this STROPENE accused us that "we were spies sent from Don ANTONIO," besides divers other lies: notwithstanding, if we had been of any other country than of England, we might freely have traded with them.

And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither, as well as other nations. For all nations do and may come freely to Ormus; as Frenchmen, Flemings, Almains [*Germans*], Hungarians, Italians, Greeks, Armenians, Nazaranies [*Nestorians*], Turks and Moors, Jews and Gentiles, Persians, and Moscovites; and there is no nation they seek to trouble, but ours: wherefore it were contrary to all justice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and forbid us.

But now I have as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the country; which thing, as yet, I desire not: but I think, hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they will [*shall*] not deny me licence.

Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in sureties for 2,000 pardaos not to depart from hence, without licence of the Viceroy. Other-

wise, except this, we have as much liberty as any other nation; for I have our goods again, and have taken a house in the chiefest street in the town, called the *Rue Drette*, where we sell our goods.

There were two causes which moved the Captain of Ormus to imprison us, and afterwards to send us hither. The first was because MICHAEL STROPENE had accused us of many matters, which were most false. And the second was that Master DRAKE, at his being at the Moluccas [*in* 1580], caused two pieces of the ordnance to be shot at a galleon of the Kings of Portugal, as they say. But of these things, I did not know at Ormus.

In the ship that we were sent in, came the Chief Justice in Ormus, who was called the *Aveador General* of that place. He had been there three years, so that his time was now expired. This *Aveador* is a great friend to the Captain of Ormus; and, certain days after our coming from thence, sent for me into his chamber [on board the ship], and there began to demand of me many things, to which I answered.

And, amongst the rest, he said that "Master DRAKE was sent out of England with many ships, and came to the Moluccas, and there laded cloves; and finding there a galleon of the Kings of Portugal, he caused two pieces of his greatest ordnance to be shot at the same."

So, perceiving that this did greatly grieve them, I asked, "If they would be revenged on me, for that which Master DRAKE had done?"

To which, he answered, "No!" although his meaning was to the contrary.

He said, moreover, that "The cause why the Captain of Ormus did send me to Goa was, that the Viceroy should understand of me, what news there was of Don ANTONIO; and whether he were in England, yea or no: and that it might be all for the best that I was sent thither." Which I trust in GOD will so fall out, although contrary to his expectation.

For had it not pleased GOD to put it into the minds of the Archbishop, and two *Padres*, Jesuits of Saint Paul's College, to stand our friends, we might have rotted in prison.

The Archbishop is a very good man: who hath two

young men his servants. One of them was born at Hamburg, and is called BERNARD BORGERS: and the other was born at Enkhuisen, whose name is JOHN LINSCOT [*i.e.*, *JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN*]; who did us great pleasure. For by them, the Archbishop was, many times, put in mind of us.

And the two good Fathers of Saint Paul's, who travailed very much for us, one of them is called *Padre* MARK, who was born in Bruges, in Flanders: and the other was born in Wiltshire, in England, and is called *Padre* THOMAS STEVENS.*

* He was some time of New College, Oxford.

Also, I chanced to find here a young man, who was born in Antwerp; but the most part of his bringing up hath been in London. His name is FRANCIS DE REA: and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo; who, also, hath done me great pleasure here.

In the prison at Ormus, we remained many days. Also, we lay a long time at sea coming hither. Forthwith, at our arrival here [on 30 November], we were carried to prison: and, the next day after, were sent for before the *Aveador*, who is the Chief Justice, to be examined. When we were examined, he presently sent us back again to prison.

And after our being there in prison thirteen days, JAMES STORY went [on 12 December] into the Monastery of Saint Paul; where he remaineth, and is made one of the Company: which life he liketh very well.

And upon St. Thomas's day [21 December], which was twenty-two days after our arrival here, I came out of prison; and the next day after, came out RALPH FITCH and WILLIAM LEEDES.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had been in possibility to have made as good a voyage as ever any man made with so much [*such an amount of*] money.

Many of our things I have sold very well, both here and in prison at Ormus: for, notwithstanding, the Captain willed me, if I would, to sell what I could, before we embarked. So, with officers, I went divers times out of the Castle in the morning, and sold things; and, at night, returned again to prison. All things that I sold, they did write: and at our embarking from

thence, the Captain gave order that I should deliver all my money, with the goods, into the hands of the *Scrivano*, or Purser, of the ship; which I did. The *Scrivano* made a remembrance, which he left there with the Captain, that myself with the rest, with money and goods, he should deliver into the hands of the *Aveador General* of India.

But at our arrival here, the *Aveador* would neither meddle with goods nor money, for he could not prove anything against us; wherefore the goods remained in the ship nine or ten days, after our arrival. And then, because the ship was to sail from thence, the *Scrivano* sent the goods on shore; and there they remained a day and a night, and nobody to receive them.

In the end, they suffered this bringer [*the carrier of this letter*] to receive them, who came with me from Ormus; and put them into an house which he had hired for me, where they remained four or five days.

But, afterwards, when they should deliver the money, it was concluded by the Justice that both money and goods should be delivered into the positor's [*security's*] hands, where they remained fourteen days [*i.e., to 4th January*, 1584] after my coming out of prison.

At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountain of silver gilt, six knives, six spoons; and one fork trimmed with coral for 25 sequins [=£1 5*s.* *then*=£7 10*s.* *now*]: which the Captain of Ormus did take, and paid for the same 20 pardaos [*i.e., pardaos de larines*] = 100 larins = 100 sequins [=£5 *then*=£30 *now*] there or here.

Also, he had five emeralds set in gold, which were worth 500 or 600 crowns [=£150 *to* £180 *then* = *about* £900 *to* £1,080 *now*], and paid for the same 100 pardaos [=£25 *then*=£150 *now*].

Also he had 19½ pikes [*an Eastern measure of length*] which cost in London 20*s.* the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crowns [£2 14*s.* *or* £3 *then* = £16 4*s.* *to* £18 *now*] the pike: and paid for the same 12 larins [= 12*s.* *then* = £3 12*s.* *now*] a pike.

Also he had two pieces of green kerseys, which were worth 24 pardaos [=£6 *then*=£36 *now*] the piece; and paid for them 16 pardaos [=£4 *then*=£24 *now*].

[It may be useful to give here the following Table of the English values in Elizabeth's reign, of the principal Coins referred to in these Eastern narratives, expressed in Portuguese *Reis*, on the basis of the gold *Milreis* = 13*s.* 4*d.*, see *Vol. II. pp.* 8-10; with their equivalents in Spanish *Maravedies*, at 374 to the *Ducat* ordinarily passed for 5*s.* 6*d.* English money, but here proportionately taken at 5s. 4d.]

Description of Coins.	Portuguese. *Reis.*	English. *Pence*		Spanish *Ducats. Maravedies.*
The Portuguese *Milreis* ...	= 1000	= 160·0	= 13s. 4d.	= 2½ *or* 935
The *Venetiander* [? the gold *Ducat* of Venice], of Goa [=10 *Tangas*].	= 600	= 96·0	= 8s. 0d.	= 1½ *or* 561
The *Pagoda*, of Goa [=8 *Tangas*]	= 480	= 76·8		= 1⅛ *or* 448·8
The French *Crown*, in Europe	= 450	= 72·0	= 6s. 0d.	= 1⅛ *or* 420·75
The *current* or ordinary *Ducat*, in the Euphrates Valley	= 450	= 72·0	= 6s. 0d.	= 1⅛ *or* 420·75
The *Piece of Eight;* which had three other names, the *Royal of Eight*, the *Royal of Plate*, and, in Goa, *Pardao de Reale* ..	= 436	= 69·76		= 1 1/11 *or* 404·6
The Spanish and Portuguese *Ducat*	= 400	= 64·0	= (ordinarily, as 5s. 6d.)	= 1 *or* 374
				Maravedies.
The *Pardao of Larines*, of Ormus...	= 375	= 60·0	= 5s. 0d.	= 318·75
The *Cruzado*, of Malacca [=6 *Tangas*]	= 360	= 57·6		= 306
The *Pardao Xeraphine*, of Goa [=5 *Tangas*] ...	= 300	= 48·0	= 4s. 0d.	= 255
The *Keyser's Guilder*, of Holland	= 160	= 25·6	= (ordinarily, 2s.)	= 136
The *Teston*, of Holland ...	= 100	= 16·0		= 85
The *Larine*, of Ormus [4=1 *Pardao Xeraphine*; 5=1 *Pardao de larines*] ...	= 75	= 12·0	= 1s. 0d.	= 63·75
The *Sequin*, at Ormus; there taken as=the *Larine* ...	= 75	= 12·0	= 1s. 0d.	= 63·75
The good [*i.e.*, *of full weight*] *Tanga*, of Goa	= 60	= 9·6		= 51

[The Tanga was the monetary Unit at Goa: 5=1 *Pardao Xeraphine*; 8=1 *Pagoda*; 10=1 *Venetiander*.]

The Spanish *Rial of Silver* [11=1 *Ducat*]	= 40	= 6·4	(ordinarily, 6d.)	= 34
The *Stiver* of Holland [10=1 *Teston*]	= 10	= 1·6		= 8·5
The good *Vintin* of Goa [15=1 *Tanga*]	= 4	= ·64		= 3·4
A single Spanish *Maravedy* ...	= 1·176	= ·188		= 1
Two Pence of Holland=a single Portuguese *Rei*..	1	= ·16		= ·85
A single good *Bazarucho* [5=1 *Vintin*; 75=1 *Tanga*]	—	= ·128		= ·68]

Besides divers other trifles that the officers and others had, in the like order; and some, for nothing at all.

But the cause of all this, was MICHAEL STROPENE, who came to Ormus not worth a penny, and now hath 30,000 or 40,000 crowns [= £9,000 *to* £12,000 *then* = £54,000 *to* £72,000 *now*], and he grieveth that any other stranger should trade thither but himself. But that shall not skill! For, I trust in GOD! to go both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Here is very great good, to be done in divers of our commodities; and in like manner, there is great profit to be made with commodities of this country, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all the things that have passed since my parting from you: but of all the troubles, since mine arrival in Ormus, this bringer is able to certify you.

I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write unto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbon; and from thence, by the ships [*carracks*], they may be conveyed hither. Let the direction of your letters be, either in Portuguese or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands.

From Goa, this 20th day of January, 1584.

RALPH FITCH, FROM GOA, 25TH JANUARY, 1584, TO MASTER LEONARD POORE OF LONDON.

LOVING FRIEND,

SINCE my departure from Aleppo, I have not written any letters unto you, by reason that at Babylon [*Bagdad*] I was sick of the flux [? *diarrhœa*]: and, being sick, I went from thence to Balsora [*Bussorah*], which was twelve days' journey down the Tigris. Where we had extremely hot weather (which was good

for my disease); ill fare, and worse lodging by reason our boat was pestered [*crowded*] with people.

That which I did eat in eight days, was very small, so that if we had stayed two days longer upon the water, I think I had died. But coming to Balsora; presently I mended, I thank GOD!

There we stayed fourteen days, and then we embarked ourselves for Ormus, where we arrived the 5th of September, and were put in prison the 9th of the same month, where we continued until the 11th of October. And then, were shipped for this city of Goa, in the Captain's ship; with 114 horses and about 200 men.

Passing by Diu and Chaul where we went on land to water, the 20th of November; we arrived at Goa, the 30th of the same month: where, for our better entertainment! we were presently put into a fair strong prison; where we continued until the 22nd of December.

It was the will of GOD, that we found there two *Padres*, the one an Englishman, the other a Fleming. The Englishman's name, was *Padre* THOMAS STEVENS, the other's *Padre* MARCO; of the Order of St. Paul. These did sue for us unto the Viceroy and other Officers; and stood us in as much stead as our lives and goods were worth: for if they had not stuck to us, if we had escaped with our lives, yet we had had a long imprisonment.

After fourteen days' imprisonment, they offered us if we could put in sureties for 2,000 ducats [*i.e.*, *Pardaos Xeraphines*], we should go abroad in the town: which, when we could not do, the said *Padres* found a surety for us, that we should not depart the country, without the licence of the Viceroy.

It doth spite the Italians [*i.e.*, *the Venetians*] to see us abroad: and many marvel at our delivery. The painter is in the Cloister of St. Paul, and is of their Order; and liketh it very well.

While we were in prison, both at Ormus and here, there was a great deal of our goods pilfered and lost; and we have been at great charges, in gifts and otherwise: so that a great deal of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things that will sell very well, and some we shall get nothing for.

I hope in GOD, that, at the return of the Viceroy, who is gone to Chaul and to Diu, they say to win a castle of the Moors; whose return it is thought will be about Easter [March 1584], then we shall get our liberty, and our surety be discharged. Then I think, it will be our best way, either one or both to return: because our troubles have been so great, and so much of our goods spoiled and lost. [*Was this a blind? They evidently wanted to go forward, as they actually did.*]

But if it please GOD, that I come into England; by GOD's help! I will return hither again. It is a brave and pleasant country, and very fruitful.

For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking [*looking well*]: for victuals are here in plenty, and good cheap.

And here I will pass over to certify you of strange things, until our meeting: for it would be too long to write thereof.

And thus, I commit you to GOD! who ever preserve you, and us all!

From Goa in the East Indies, the 25th of January, 1584.

Yours to command,

RALPH FITCH.

Our surety's name was ANDREAS TABORER, to whom we paid 2,150 ducats [*i.e., Pardaos Xeraphines*=£430 *then*=£2,580 *now. This is probably the exact amount paid to the Surety: being the Pledge-money, and something for his trouble*]: and still he demanded more. Whereupon [*in March* 1584] we made suit to the Viceroy and Justice "to have our money [*the* 2,000 *ducats*] again; considering they had had it in their hands nearly five months [*November* 1583, *to March* 1584] and could prove nothing against us."

The Viceroy made us a very sharp answer, and said "We should be better sifted, before it were long; and that they had further matter against us!"

Wherepon we presently [*instantly*] determined rather to seek our liberties, than to be in danger to be slaves for ever in the country. For it was told us, we should have the *strappado*.

Whereupon, presently [*at once*], the 5th day of April [*Old Style*], 1584, in the morning, we ran from the place: and,

being set over the river, we went two days' journey on foot, not without fear, not knowing the way, nor having any guide: for we durst trust none.

JAN HUYGHEN VAN LINSCHOTEN.
Account of the Four Englishmen at Goa.

As LINSCHOTEN says at *p.* 330, his information about Aleppo and Ormus was derived from JAMES STORY, the English house painter.

[*Discourse of Voyages &c.*, 1598.]

IN THE month of December [*or rather on 4th September, see p.* 312], *anno* 1583, there arrived in the town and island of Ormus, four Englishmen; who came from Aleppo in the country of Syria, having sailed out of England, passed through the Straits of Gibraltar to Tripolis, a town and haven lying on the sea-coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares and merchandise, which from thence are carried by land to Aleppo, which is a nine-days' journey.

In Aleppo, there are resident divers merchants and factors of all nations, as Italians, Frenchmen, Englishmen, Armenians Turks, and Moors; every man having his religion apart, and paying tribute unto the Great Turk. In that town there is great traffic. For from thence, twice every year, there travelleth two *caffylen* [caravans], that is, companies of people and camels, which travel into India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countries bordering on the same, and deal in all sorts of merchandise both to and from those countries.

Three of the Englishmen aforesaid were sent by the company of Englishmen that are resident in Aleppo, to see if they might keep any factors in Ormus; and so traffic in that place, like as also the Italians, that is to say, the Venetians, do: who have their factors in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca, and traffic there, as well for stones and pearls as for other wares and spices of those countries; which from thence, are carried overland into Venice.

One of these Englishmen had been once before in the said town of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade; and upon his advice and advertisement, the other

three were then come thither with him, bringing great store of merchandise with them, as cloths, saffron, all kinds of drinking-glasses and haberdashers' wares, as looking-glasses, knives, and such like stuff; and, to conclude, brought with them all kinds of small wares that may be devised. And although those wares amounted unto great sums of money; notwithstanding it was but only a shadow or colour, thereby to give no occasion to be mistrusted or seen into. For their principal intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as diamonds, pearls, rubies, &c.: to the which end, they brought with them a great sum of money and gold; and that very secretly, not to be deceived or robbed thereof, or to run into any danger for the same.

They, being thus arrived in Ormus, hired a shop, and began to sell their wares; which the Italians perceiving (whose factors continue there, as I said before, and fearing that those Englishmen, finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therein, and so daily increase), did presently invent all the subtle means they could, to hinder them. And to that end, they went unto the Captain of Ormus, then called Don GONSALO DE MENESES [*or rather, Don M. DE ALBUQUERQUE, see p.* 312, *and Vol. II. p.* 49], telling him that there were certain Englishmen come into Ormus that were sent only to spy the country: and said further that "they were heretics, and therefore," they said, "it was convenient they should not be suffered so to depart; without being examined and punished as enemies, to the example of others."

The Captain, being a friend unto the Englishmen, by reason that the one of them, who had been there before, had given him certain presents, would not be persuaded to trouble them: but shipped them, with all their wares, in a ship that was to sail for Goa; and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and try them, as he thought good.

Where, when they were arrived, they were cast into prison: and first examined whether they were good Christians or not. And because they could speak but bad Portuguese; and that two of them spoke good Dutch, having been certain years in the Low Countries, and trafficed there: a Dutch Jesuit (born in the town of Bruges in Flanders, that had resident in the Indies for the space of thirty years) was sent unto them to undermine and examine them. Wherein they behaved them-

selves so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good and catholic Romish Christians; yet still suspected, because they were strangers, especially Englishmen.

The Jesuits still told them they should be sent prisoners unto Portugal, wishing them to leave off their trade of merchandise, and to become Jesuits: promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they said so, and persuaded them in that earnest manner was that the Dutch Jesuit had secretly been advertised of the great sums of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers: for the first vow and promise they make, at their entrance into their Order, is, *to procure the welfare of the said Order, by what means soever it be.*

Although the Englishmen denied them, and refused the Order, saying that "they were unfit for such places"; nevertheless they proceeded so far that one of them, being a painter (that came with the other three, to see the countries and to seek his fortune; but was not sent thither by the English merchants), partly for fear, and partly for want of means to relieve himself, promised them to become a Jesuit: and although they knew and perceived well he was not any of those that had the treasure; yet because he was a painter (whereof there are but few in India), and that they had great need of him to paint their church, which otherwise it would cost them great charges to bring one from Portugal, they were very glad thereof; hoping, in time, to get the rest of them, with all their money, into their fellowship. So that, to conclude, they made this painter, a Jesuit, where he continued certain days; giving him good store of work to do, and entertaining him with all the favour and friendship they could devise; and all to win the rest. But the other three continued still in prison, being in great fear, because they understood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they said; till, in the end, it was told them that certain Dutchmen dwelt in the Archbishop's house, and counsel given them to send unto them.

Whereat they much rejoiced, and sent to me and to another Dutchman, desiring us once to come, and speak with them; which we presently [*at once*] did. They, with tears in their eyes, made complaint unto us of their hard usage, showing us from point to point, as is said before, why they were come into the

country: withal desiring us, for GOD's sake, if we might, by any means, help them, that they might be set at liberty upon sureties, being ready to endure what justice should ordain for them; saying "that if it were found contrary, and that they were other than travelling merchants, and sought to find out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished."

With that, we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and, in the end, we obtained so much of the Archbishop, that he went unto the Viceroy to deliver our petition; and persuaded him so well that he was content to set them at liberty, and that their goods should be delivered unto them again, upon condition that they should put in surety for 2,000 pardaos [=£400 *then*=£2,400 *now*] not to depart the country before other order should be taken with them.

Thereupon, they presently found a citizen of the town, that was their surety for 2,000 pardaos, and they paid him [*i.e.*, *at first*] 1,300 pardaos [=£260 *then*=£1,560 *now*] in hand; and because they said they had no more ready money, he gave them credit, seeing what store of merchandise they had, whereby at all times, if need were, he might be satisfied [*but he was eventually paid* 2,150 *pardaos, see p.* 320]: and by that means they were delivered out of prison, and hired themselves a house, and began to set an open shop.

So that they uttered much ware, and were presently well known among all the merchants, because they always respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares; showing great courtesy and honour unto them: whereby they won much credit, and were beloved of all men, so that every man favoured them, and was willing to do them pleasure.

To us, they showed great friendship; for whose sake, the Archbishop favoured them much, and showed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents: although he would not receive them, neither would ever take gift or present at any man's hands. Likewise they behaved themselves very Catholic, and very devout, every day hearing mass with beads in their hands; so that they fell into so great favour that no man carried an evil eye, no, nor an evil thought towards them.

Which liked not the Jesuits, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still, by this

Dutch Jesuit, to put them in fear, that they should be sent into Portugal to the King, counselling them to yield themselves Jesuits into their cloister, "which if they did," he said, "they would defend them from all, in troubles." Saying further, "that he counselled them therein as a friend, and one that knew for certain, that it was so determined by the Viceroy's Privy Council, which to effect," he said, "they stayed but for shipping [*i.e.*, *the Carracks*] that should sail for Portugal": with divers other persuasions to put them in some fear, and so to effect their purpose.

The Englishmen, on the contrary, durst not say anything to them, but answered that "they, as yet, would stay awhile, and consider thereof," thereby putting the Jesuits in good comfort, as one among them, being the principal of them, called JOHN NEWBERY, complained to me oftentimes, saying, "he knew not what to say or think therein; or which way he might be rid of those troubles."

But, in the end, they determined with themselves, to depart from thence, and secretly by means of contrary friends, they employed their money in precious stones; which the better to effect, one of them [WILLIAM LEEDES] was a jeweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make known to any man; neither did they credit [*trust*] us so much as to show us their minds therein, although they told us all whatsoever they knew. But on a Whitsunday [*FITCH says on 5th April*, 1584, *O.S.*; *see p.* 323], they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the river, in a country called Bardes, having with them a good store of meat and drink. And because they should not be suspected; they left their house and shop, with some wares therein unsold, in the custody of a Dutch boy by us provided for them, that looked unto it. This boy was in the house, not knowing their intent.

Being at Bardes, they had with them a *patamar*, which is one of the Indian posts, which, in winter times, carry letters from one place to another; whom they had hired to guide them. And because that between Bardes and the firm land there is but a little river, in a manner half dry, they passed over it on foot; and so travelled by land: being never heard of again. It is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say; but they knew not certainly. Their greatest hopes was that

JOHN NEWBERY could speak Arabic, which is used in all those countries, or, at the least, understood: for it is very common in all places thereabouts, as French, with us.

News being come to Goa, there was a great stir and murmuring among the people, and we much wondered at it: for many were of opinion that we had given them counsel so to do. And presently [*instantly*] their surety seized upon the goods remaining, which might amount unto above 200 pardaos [=£40 *then*=£240 *now*]; and with that, and the money he had received of the Englishmen, [*apparently only the* 1,300 *Pardaos, keeping the* 650 *to himself*], he went unto the Viceroy, and delivered it unto him: which the Viceroy having received, forgave him the rest.

This flight of the Englishmen grieved the Jesuits most; because they had lost such a prey, which they made sure account of. Whereupon, the Dutch Jesuit came to us, to ask us if we knew thereof; saying, "that if he had suspected so much, he would have dealt otherwise. For that," he said, "he once had in his hand a bag of theirs wherein was 40,000 Venesanders [or *Venetianders*]." Each Venesander being two Pardaos [*i.e.*=8*s*, *see p.* 320. *The amount was therefore* £16,000 *then*=£96,000 *now*]. Which was when they were in prison. "And that they had always put him in comfort to accomplish his desire. Upon the which promise, he gave them their money again: which otherwise they should not so lightly have come by, or paradventure never," as he openly said. And in the end, he called them heretics and spies; with a thousand other railing speeches which he uttered against them.

[JAMES STORY], the Englishman that was become a Jesuit, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiving that the Jesuits showed him not so great favour, neither used him so well as they did at the first, repented himself. And seeing he had not, as then, made any solemn promise; and being counselled to leave the house, and told that he could not want a living in the town, as also that the Jesuits could not keep him there, without he were willing to stay, so that could not accuse him of anything, he told them flatly, that "He had no desire to stay within the Cloister": and although they used all the means they could, to keep him there, yet he would not stay; but hired a house without the Cloister, and opened a shop where he had good store of work. And, in the end,

married a *mestizo's* daughter, of the town. So that he made his account to stay there, while he lived.

By this Englishman, I was instructed in all the ways, trades, and voyages of the country between Aleppo and Ormus: and of all the ordinances and common customs which they usually hold during their voyage overland; as also of the places and towns where they passed.

Since those Englishmen's departure from Goa [*April* 1584] there never arrived [*until November* 1588, *when* LINSCHOTEN *left India*] any strangers, either English or others, by land in the said countries; but only Italians, which daily traffic overland, and use continual trade, going and coming, that way.

From the point of the three Englishmen's escape from Goa, we give a brief outline of FITCH's travels, from HAKLUYT's *Voyages*. They met an Ambassador of the Emperor AKBAR, and went with him to his Court at Agra. Where

We stayed all three until the 28th of September, 1585.

Then Master JOHN NEWBERY went towards the city of Lahore: determining from thence, to go for Persia; and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, which he could get soonest passage unto. [*Apparently, he never reached England.*]

He directed me to go to Bengal and Pegu; and did promise me, if it pleased GOD, to meet in Bengal, within two years, with a ship out of England.

I left WILLIAM LEEDES, the jeweller, in the service of the Emperor AKBAR at Agra: who did entertain him very well; and gave him a house, and five slaves, a horse, and every day six S.S. in money.

I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengal, in the company of 180 boats laden with salt, opium, hinge, lead, carpets, and divers other commodities, down the river Jumna.

From Agra, I came to Prage [*now, Allahabad*], where the Jumna entereth the mighty river Ganges, and loseth his name.

From thence, we went to Benares; which is a great town.

From Benares, I went to Patna, down the river Ganges, where, in the way, we passed many fair towns and a very fruitful country.

From Patna, I went to Tanda, which standeth a league from the river Ganges.

I was five months coming to Bengal; but it may be sailed in a much shorter time.

I went into the country of Couche, which is twenty-five days' journey northwards from Tanda.

From thence I returned to Hooghly, which is the place which the Portuguese keepeth in the country of Bengal. It standeth 23° N., and a league from Satagam. They call it *Porto Piqueno*.

Not far from *Porto Piqueno* south-westward, standeth an haven, which is called *Porto Angeli*, in the country of Orissa.

From Satagam, I travelled by the country of Tippara to *Porto Grande* or Chatigan.

From Chatigan in Bengal, I came to Batticola.

From Batticola, I went to Serrepore [? *Serampore*], which standeth on the river Ganges.

I went from Serrepore, the 28th of November, 1586, for Pegu; in a small ship or foist of one ALBERT CARVALLOS.

From Bengal to Pegu is ninety leagues. We entered the bar of Negrais, which is a brave bar, and hath four fathoms of water where it hath least. Three days after, we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretty town.

From the bar of Negrais to the city of Pegu is ten days' journey by the rivers. We went from Cosmin to Pegu in praus or boats.

I went from Pegu to Iamabey. It is twenty-five days journey north-east from Pegu.

The 10th January [1588] I went from Pegu to Malacca: and so came to Malacca the 8th of February, where the Portuguese have a castle, which standeth near the sea. [*Then just relieved by the Portuguese, see Vol. II. p.* 46. *AFHUISEN, Vol. II. p.* 110, *must have been there at the same time as* FITCH.]

The 29th of March, 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martavan, and so to Pegu; where I remained a second time until the 17th of September; and then I went to Cosmin, and there took shipping. And passing many dangers, by reason of contrary winds, it pleased GOD that we arrived in Bengal in November following. Where I stayed, for want of passage, until the 3rd of February, 1589; and then I shipped myself for Cochin.

We arrived in Ceylon the 6th of March: where we stayed five days to water, and to furnish ourselves with other necessary provision.

The 11th of March, we sailed from Ceylon; and so doubled Cape Cormorin. From thence, we passed by Coulan [*Quilon*], which is a fort of the Portuguese: whence cometh great store of pepper, which cometh for Portugal. Oftentimes, one of the carracks of Portugal ladeth there. Thus passing the coast, we arrived in Cochin, the 22nd of March.

I remained in Cochin until the 2nd of November, which was eight months; for there was no passage in all that time. If I had come two days sooner, I had found a passage presently [*at once*].

From Cochin, I went to Goa; where I remained three days. [*A rather risky visit!*]

From Goa, I went to Chaul, where I remained twenty-three days. And there making my provision of things necessary for the ship, I departed from thence to Ormus: where I stayed for a passage to Balsora, fifty days.

From Ormus, I went to Balsora or Basora; and from Basora to Babylon [*Bagdad*]: and we passed the most part of the way up the Tigris by the strength of men by hauling the boat up the river with a long cord.

From Babylon, I came by land to Mosul, which standeth near to Nineveh, which is all ruinated and destroyed. It standeth fast by the river Tigris.

From Mosul, I went to Merdin [*Mardin*], which is in the country of the Armenians: but now a people, which they call Kurds, dwell in that place.

From Merdin, I went to Orpha [*Urfah*], which is a very fair town; and it hath a goodly fountain full of fish; where the Moors hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning ABRAHAM. For they say, he did once dwell there.

From thence, I went to Bir, and so passed the river Euphrates.

From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certain months for company, and then, I went to Tripolis; where finding English shipping, I came, with a prosperous voyage to London: where, by GOD's assistance, I safely arrived the 29th of April, 1591: having been eight years out of my native country.